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The Shape of Things

THE PRESIDENT'S CHRISTMAS BROADCAST proved rather meager fare. He had nothing to say about the domestic affairs of the nation, in regard to which his leadership is so badly needed; nor did he use the opportunity to report on the Cairo and Teheran conferences in a way that would have enlarged the people's understanding of the major issues of the war. The one real item of news he had to offer—the appointment of General Eisenhower to command the Allied invasion forces—was hardly a surprise, since authoritative sources had already indicated this choice. As the only alternative seems to have been General Marshall, who is doing an outstanding job as Chief of Staff, the selection will be generally approved. General Eisenhower has shown himself to be a first-rate organizer, a skilled coordinator of land, sea, and air forces, and a good diplomat. He has won many laurels for his tact and skill in welding a staff drawn from different nationalities and services into a good working team—never an easy task. But he has yet to prove himself a major strategist. In the Mediterranean he has shown a caution which at times has appeared excessive, particularly after the capture of Sicily and the fall of Mussolini. A more dashing policy at that moment would have involved greater immediate risks, but it might have paid dividends in lives and time. It is only fair to add that history may show that responsibility for this delay lies elsewhere. In any case, General Eisenhower is now being given an opportunity such as has fallen to few commanders, and we wish him and the men he leads all good fortune.

*

THE SESSION OF CONGRESS WHICH ENDED on December 21 with barely twenty Representatives on the floor of the House may claim the distinction of having done less at a time of great urgency than any other Congress in a decade. A year ago, when the Seventy-eighth Congress convened, it faced seven main responsibilities. Preeminent among these was the necessity for raising sufficient additional revenue to absorb excess purchasing power, then estimated at more than forty billion dollars. Also of great importance were the tasks of combating rising prices, creating the machinery for an orderly post-war reconstruction, providing financial and educational assistance to service men as they are demobi-

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lized, establishing a mechanism to prevent eleven million service men from being disfranchised in the next election, revising our social-security laws as repeatedly urged by the President, and formulating the broad outlines of our post-war international policies. Only the last was accomplished, and that largely by a fluke. The Connally resolution on post-war organization was given some substance at the last moment as a result of the timely announcement of the Moscow agreements. Against this must be set not only the failure of Congress to make provision for the difficult transition from war to peace at home but its indefensible action in killing the one agency that had done constructive work in this direction—the National Resources Planning Board.

*

THE MOST FLAGRANT DERELICTION OF DUTY on the part of Congress, however, has been its tendency to play politics on the inflation issue. Although few individual Congressmen will deny the necessity for the stabilization program, both houses have repeatedly yielded to the pressure of special interests and passed measures which, if they had become law, would have wrecked the entire anti-inflation program. Fortunately, many of these measures, like the anti-subsidy bill and the bills for increasing the pay of non-operating railway workers, the price of oil, and the price of corn, after passing in one house were held up in the other. And earlier in the session the President twice stepped in to avert disaster by a vigorous use of his veto power. But if the difficulty of obtaining agreement between House and Senate saved Congress from many sins of commission, no such factor operated in connection with its sins of omission. Its failure to provide adequate tax revenues has already been seized upon as a justification for labor's demands for a wage scale above the Little Steel formula. Fortunately, as the session ended, there were signs that public opinion was making itself felt in Washington on the subsidies and soldier-vote issues. A three weeks' vacation certainly cannot do the Seventy-eighth Congress any harm; it is possible that a few talks with the folks back home may do it some good.

*

EVENTS ARE MOVING FAST IN THE BALKANS. Last week we commented on the demand of the new Partisan government in Yugoslavia for Allied recognition. Since then it has gone farther. Tito has broadcast a bitter attack on King Peter's Cabinet and announced that the King himself will not be allowed to return to Yugoslavia until the people have had a chance to decide whether or not they want him. This latest move creates an even more embarrassing diplomatic problem for the Allied governments. Tito's Partisan army is too important a military factor to be ignored. Even now it is containing as many German troops as are the British and American forces in Italy; and in preparing the way for an Allied invasion its operations are indispensable. Washington and London undoubtedly knew that eventually they would have to break with Mihailovich and the government in exile. But they had hoped they might employ the young King Peter to help bridge the diplomatic gap opened by the present situation. To graft Peter on the new political growth in Yugoslavia not only would serve to satisfy the ingrained British and American passion for legitimacy but would provide, it was hoped, a rallying point for forces in Yugoslavia still loyal to Mihailovich and the King. Now the Tito government has upset this hope. It cannot be suspected of having acted irresponsibly, especially since it is working in close cooperation with British, Russian, and American advisers. The repudiation of Peter was almost certainly a political necessity. At this stage in the struggle it is more important to represent the wishes of the Yugoslav people and keep their morale high than to spare Allied diplomats the consequences of their long-continued support of the government in exile.

*

ANYONE WITH AN AVERAGE MEMORY WILL recall how solemnly the State Department defended the necessity of transporting Marcel Peyrouton from Argentina to North Africa shortly after the Allied invasion. As one of Hitler's most assiduous French collaborators, Peyrouton, to be sure, had established concentration camps for Frenchmen on French soil and introduced the Nürnberg code to the land of liberty, equality, and fraternity; but his presence was demanded, it was said, because he was a good administrator. Now the indispensable administrator is in jail, along with such other supposedly essential adjuncts of Allied liberation as Pierre Boisson, and the bottom has not dropped out of the administration of French North Africa. On the contrary that administration is in an increasingly robust state. Unlike the French governments in the declining years of the Third Republic, it is not disposed, in the name of democracy, to nourish democracy's enemies until they are strong enough to destroy it. The so-called "purge committee," besides rounding up the Peyroutons, Boissons, and Flandins, is gathering data on members of the army, navy, and civil service who belonged to the various fascist legions that contributed so willingly to the collapse of the Republic. It is looking into the recent history of publishers who until the Allied invasion printed their newspapers in accordance with daily instructions from Dr. Goebbels. To perform this service it has been necessary to impound the books of all papers published before November, 1942, an action which has produced wails of anguish about the De Gaullists' violation of the freedom of the press. Perhaps the best answer to these loose charges is the fact

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that the administrative procedure involved in the process has been severely criticized in *Echo d'Alger,* whose editors have incurred no penalty as a result.

*

THE McCORMICK THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL relations is that the interests of this country are endangered less by its enemies than by its friends and allies. So the Colonel is perfectly logical in advocating policies which seem bound to insure that we shall eventually have no friends left to worry about. "We should insist," he told the Detroit Athletic Club on December 15, "on retaining such of the islands as will secure our future safety from attack; we should retain air bases wherever we have built them . . . we should make such other arrangements as will provide for our security." This is a pretty tall order, with implications which the Colonel, unfortunately, failed to develop. We have built air bases all around the world. Is each of these to become an enclave of American territory, and if so, how will they be defended? Suppose, for instance, we "retain" an air base at Dakar. Are we then going to look to the French, who will not be exactly pleased at this invasion of their sovereignty, to guard it for us or are we to depend on our own strength? If the latter, we must take over more than a few square miles of North Africa, for an isolated air base would prove entirely indefensible. In fact, retaining all the air bases we have built for the purposes of carrying on this war would inevitably lead to the acquisition of most of Asia and Africa, not to mention such headaches as Northern Ireland, and would leave us permanently on a war footing if not permanently at war. Seeking security while rejecting internationalism, our isolationists are moving rapidly toward super-imperialism.

*

TRY TO IMAGINE A JEWISH POLICEMAN WHO not only hates Catholics indiscriminately but who attends meetings at which anti-Catholic campaigns are mapped out, who associates with shady characters under indictment for seditious activities, and who uses his garage as a storage vault for abusive anti-Catholic literature intended for popular distribution. Go on, then, and picture this arm of the law caught red-handed and brought up on departmental charges. Is there any doubt in your mind that he would—and should—be dropped from the force as fast as the shield could be stripped off his uniform? Now stop imagining and look at the case of Patrolman James L. Drew of the New York police. With a few legally irrelevant changes it parallels our hypothetical case—up to a point. Drew is not Jewish but on the contrary an avowed anti-Semite. He is a friend and associate of Joe McWilliams and other notorious rabble-rousers. On the testimony of Commissioner of Investigation William B. Herlands, he has contributed funds "to at least four organizations which, according to federal indictments, were engaged in seditious activities," and in his garage were found quantities of scurrilous anti-Semitic pamphlets. Here the parallel ends. Far from being unceremoniously booted from the force, Drew has been reinstated by Commissioner Valentine, with back pay. During part of the period of his suspension he was even permitted to continue policing a Brooklyn precinct with a preponderantly Jewish population. Both Mr. Herlands and Dean Ignatius M. Wilkinson, Corporation Counsel of New York, believe that Valentine acted in defiance of all the evidence. Mayor LaGuardia promises to look into the matter when he has a chance. He should not be allowed to forget it.

*

THE STORY OF JOHN LONGO'S ARREST AND conviction as told elsewhere in this issue by McAlister Coleman is so preposterous that the average American is likely to think that some of the essential facts must have been omitted. Yet evidence from many sources, including the testimony of Governor Edison himself, indicates that Longo's sole crime is that of opposition to the Hague political machine. It cannot even be pretended that he has received a fair trial. The prosecutor, the judge, and even the jury that convicted him were under Hague's influence. And the Longo case is only one of six apparent miscarriages of justice which have been called to the attention of Attorney General Biddle by the City Affairs Committee of Jersey City, which is demanding a federal investigation of the infringement of constitutional rights by the Hague machine. Mr. Biddle's position is embarrassing, but we incline to agree with Mr. Coleman that a clear-cut response to civic duty in this instance would react favorably to the Administration in New Jersey as well as elsewhere. Meanwhile, every effort must be made to see that Longo receives the kind of trial every American is entitled to. Funds for his defense may be sent to the Reverend George G. Hollingshead, treasurer of the Jersey City Affairs Committee, Goodwill Industries, 574 Jersey Avenue, Jersey City.

Come and Get It

AFTER months of groaning labor, Congress seems about to give birth to a bad joke—a tax bill not only completely inadequate for the fiscal needs of the nation but threatening to take more out of the Treasury than it adds to it. Although a Presidential veto of a tax bill is quite unprecedented, it is not surprising that such action is being urged in quarters close to the White House. The Treasury put before Congress plans to raise $10½ billion in new revenue. The House, ignoring the possibilities of higher income levies, particularly in the over-$3,000 brackets, scraped together some odds and ends

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of taxes estimated to yield a total of little over $2 billion. Not content with this, the Senate Finance Committee has whittled further, and in addition has voted to freeze pay-roll taxes at the present rate of 1 per cent. Unless overridden, a Presidential veto would mean that social-security collections would automatically increase $1.4 billion in the next year, making a net loss of under $1 billion from failure to pass a tax bill.

But that is not the worst. Tacked on to the tax bill in its present form are a series of drastic amendments to the renegotiation law which will not only prevent the government from collecting refunds when contract prices prove out of line with costs but will probably involve the return of vast sums to contractors who have already agreed to scale down prices.

The renegotiation law was passed for the purpose of checking in this war the rampant profiteering experienced in the last. While it can hardly be said to have achieved this objective it has served at least to limit raids on the public purse. It is, moreover, an essential law because it is absolutely impossible to ascertain production costs in advance in a great many cases. When a new type of plane or tank is ordered, no one can say what will be the real unit cost of a batch of 5,000. This can only be ascertained as the production line gets into swing and the "bugs" are ironed out. Then various ways of reducing the labor cost per unit are likely to be discovered. Further, if the order is later increased, unit costs will be again reduced since the heavy expenses of preparing blueprints, special dies, etc., will be spread over a larger output.

Under the renegotiation law it has been the practice of government procurement officers to place contracts at prices which the manufacturer concerned believes will protect him fully. Then, when actual costs have been proved by experience, renegotiation begins, and if the final figure agreed upon is less than the original, a refund is made to the government. This process serves to prevent delays in placing contracts: the extent to which it also serves to protect the taxpayer is indicated by the fact that already over $5 billion has been collected in refunds.

At the time the law was passed there was very little opposition, and many large war contractors have since warmly indorsed its principles and paid tribute to the way they have been applied. In his report to the stockholders for 1942, Frederick B. Rentschler, chairman of United Aircraft, declared: "The directors and officers wholeheartedly support the principle of renegotiation.... Price reductions, before excessive profits can accrue, tend to keep costs at a minimum. In this respect renegotiation is superior to a broad profit limitation, which reaches profits only after they accrue and affords no incentive to reduce costs."

Many corporations, however, when faced by the prospect of disgorging cash to the Treasury, decided that the law was an unjust one. They objected that renegotiation did not take into account the necessity for providing post-war reserves out of profits, and they claimed that revision of contracts should be based on consideration not of gross profits but of profits after taxes. Actually profits, after taxes and renegotiated refunds, are proving ample in most cases to provide for post-war reserves unless business is preparing to hibernate like a bear and live on its accumulated fat through a prolonged winter of depression. Moreover, Congress has made generous provision for tax rebates in the event of post-war losses. As to the second claim, it means in effect that taxes on profits would be treated as cost and that the Treasury would pay out with one hand what it received in the other.

Congress, however, has been mightily impressed by these pleas, and the result is the inclusion in the current tax bill of a series of amendments which in the opinion of such conservative administrators as Under Secretary of War Patterson and Under Secretary of the Navy Forrestal (both government recruits from Wall Street) are calculated to emasculate the renegotiation law. Among the changes approved by the Senate Finance Committee is the retroactive exclusion from renegotiation of subcontracts for articles which do not become a component part of the final product consumed. The effect of this amendment would be the return of huge sums to manufacturers of machine tools and many other contractors. Another proposal is for the exemption from renegotiation of all "standard commercial articles." This introduces but does not define a term capable of widely differing interpretations. Is an army blanket, a ship, a Diesel motor, or a truck axle a "standard commercial article"? And in any case is no consideration to be given to the fact that a bulk government order for such articles can be filled at very much lower unit cost than the equivalent production made up of numerous relatively small orders for private customers?

Other amendments approved by the House or the Senate Finance Committee or both require renegotiators to take into account taxes and post-war reserves and permit 8,000 voluntary settlements already achieved to be appealed to the courts. It is no wonder that Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau has declared that the renegotiation provisions of the tax bill "open the way to truly extortionate profits. I predict that if they are enacted into law they will come back to plague not only Congress but the war-goods manufacturers who get temporary gain from them."

The idea that this war, unlike the last, was to be fought on a non-profiteering basis has already gone down the drain. Corporate earnings *after* taxes in 1943 reached an all-time high. But if these proposals become law, the nation's substance will be piled in the hog trough and industry invited to gorge itself sick.

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Bolivia—and After

IT WAS clear when the Ramirez regime in Argentina was first established that the Colonels would not be content with seeing their program victorious in Argentina alone. Every circumstance drove them to extend their influence beyond the national frontiers. On one hand they faced the growing dissatisfaction of the people, and on the other the difficult diplomatic situation engendered by their conflict with the United States. The only way they could compensate for their weak position was to bolster Argentine fascism with the support of the greatest possible number of Latin American countries.

The Bolivian coup d'état was written on the wall, and La Paz is not the only capital threatened by fascism. In his broad analysis of how fascism developed in Argentina, J. Alvarez del Vayo last week referred to a project, centering in and around Argentina, to create a strong military bloc of states, directed particularly against the United States. Even before the overthrow of the Peñeranda regime was reported, those who had followed affairs in Buenos Aires were familiar with the outline of the plan, which encompassed Paraguay, Bolivia, Chile, and Peru. Paraguay and Bolivia have been won over by Argentina, and Ramirez agents have shown tremendous activity in recent weeks in Chile and Peru.

No more conclusive proof can be offered that the tolerance of a single fascist state anywhere endangers every state everywhere. With Buenos Aires as the core of infection, fascism threatens to spread all along the Plate River and the Andes, penetrating even into Central America and Mexico. Though Mexico City is a long distance from Buenos Aires and La Paz, reports from there are far from reassuring. On the contrary, an eminent Mexican who occupies an official post and who only a year ago scoffed at stories in *The Nation* about the Sinarquist danger admitted the other day that in view of recent developments in South America the danger could no longer be minimized. Recently the Mexican Parliament discussed at great length the proportions which the Sinarquist agitation is assuming. Well organized, and constantly acquiring new financial means, the Sinarquistas have been working systematically and aggressively among the young men who are scheduled for induction into the army. The Bolivian coup d'état was acclaimed by the Sinarquistas without even an attempt to disguise their intention to profit by a good example.

This situation deserves the closest attention from the government and people of the United States. All our complacency about the progress which the cause of democracy and of the United Nations is making in Latin America has been fundamentally challenged; should things continue to move in the same direction, we may find ourselves emerging victorious from the war only to see fascism triumphant in Latin America. And the triumph of fascism in the southern continent could not fail to find a reflection in the United States itself.

It may seem absurd that such a threat should develop at a moment when the Allied coalition is defeating the Axis powers on every front. But the explanation is simple. The growth of fascism in Latin America is the result of our insistence upon waging this war not as a war for democracy but as a purely military enterprise. It is the consequence of the absence of a united political policy from the direction of the war.

The democratic elements, the liberal forces, the working masses in Latin America have been confused and thwarted by our contradictory policy. It is true that the principal leaders of the coup d'état in Bolivia are the same people who obliged the government of Peñeranda to declare a state of siege in 1941, "because the existence of plans and activities against public order and the legal powers in connivance with foreign political interests of totalitarian character has been proved." It is true that in certain respects the coup in Bolivia is the second act, this time successful, of a project conceived in 1941 in cooperation with Ernst Wendler, the German Minister in La Paz, and developed by Major Elias Pabón, the Bolivian military attache in Berlin. But it is no less true that these leaders were able to take advantage of the profound distrust which the mass of the Bolivian working class has come to feel toward the United States and toward the United Nations in general.

Not everyone behind the new Bolivian regime is a pro-Nazi, although the leadership may be. Many of the men who are involved in the coup or who supported it are moved by a belief that the war may end with a capitalist oligarchy dominating Latin America, supported and favored by Washington. German agents in Bolivia knew well what they were doing when they distributed throughout Latin America thousands of leaflets quoting the statement of the United States Minister in La Paz in favor of the Bolivian mine owners in their struggle against the Bolivian workers. It was too much to expect that when the junta led its troops into the streets of La Paz the other day to overthrow the Peñeranda government, the working masses of Bolivia would rush from their houses to oppose their new rulers and shout hosannas for the United Nations.

This is the situation to which the lack of a democratic political direction of the war has led. Washington may or may not decide to recognize the new Bolivian government, but as long as the United Nations have nothing better to offer Latin America than a policy of supporting oppressive dictatorships, of making no distinction between reactionaries and democrats, the plot conceived in Buenos Aires and now victorious in Bolivia will have success after success.

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Ickes and the Oil Men

BY I. F. STONE

NO ONE has been more critical of dollar-a-year men than Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes. He has boasted that in his Petroleum Administration for War there are no dollar-a-year men, that the men running the PAW, unlike those running the War Production Board, are regular government officials working at regular government salaries.

A few days ago a subcommittee of the House Naval Affairs Committee under the chairmanship of L. Mendel Rivers released a transcript of hearings on the petroleum situation. This transcript revealed (1) that at least three officials of the PAW are still being paid salaries by private companies, although they are also paid regular salaries by the government, and (2) that the PAW refused to give the House Naval Affairs Committee a list of other PAW officials receiving private pay. A similar request some time ago from a subcommittee of the Senate Agriculture Committee met with a similar rebuff.

Ickes's deputy in charge of the Petroleum Administration for War is Ralph K. Davies. He testified that he was on leave of absence from his job as first vice-president of Standard Oil of California. When he was asked whether he was receiving a salary from that company, his answer was, "Not salary as such." But in answer to further questions Davies explained: "My salary with the government is $10,000. My compensation from Standard Oil of California is $47,500 . . . which together represent my civilian salary of $57,500."

Edwin D. Cumming is director of refining in the PAW. He testified that he was with the Shell Oil Company, American affiliate of Royal Dutch Shell, for twenty years, and explained his dual position thus:

> *Mr. Cumming:* . . . I left Shell to come down here as director of refining.
>
> *Mr. Rivers:* You are not now connected with Shell?
>
> *Mr. Cumming:* No.
>
> *Mr. Rivers:* What is your salary over here?
>
> *Mr. Cumming:* $8,000.
>
> *Mr. Rivers:* You don't draw any salary from any other source now?
>
> *Mr. Cumming:* I get a so-called termination pay from Shell.
>
> *Mr. Rivers:* How much is that?
>
> *Mr. Cumming:* That amounts to about $18,000 a year.
>
> *Mr. Rivers:* What is that, Mr. Cumming? Is that a kind of annuity?
>
> *Mr. Cumming:* Yes. Shell, of course, was reluctant to have me leave and wanted to be sure that I maintained some sort of connection with them during the war, and that I would return to them after the war, even though they were most anxious that I have nothing to do with them as long as I was in Washington.

Donald R. Knowlton, Director of Production for the PAW, testified to a similar position. He is a government official at $8,000 a year but is "still on the pay roll of the Phillips Petroleum Company . . . as compensation for past services rendered" at $16,380 a year, because he is "what you might call loaned by the Phillips Petroleum Company."

Representative F. Edward Hébert of Louisiana, a member of the Rivers subcommittee, asked Knowlton to supply a list of PAW officials showing "whether or not they are still drawing compensation from their companies which loaned them here to Washington, as well as the compensation they are getting in Washington." This request was given a polite brush-off by Davies in a letter to Representative Rivers.

There is a federal statute, passed in 1918, which says:

> No government official or employee shall receive any salary in connection with his service as such from any source other than the government of the United States. . . . And no person, association, or corporation shall make any contribution to, or in any way supplement the salary of, any government official or employee for the services performed by him for the government.

The purpose of this law, as explained by an opinion of the Attorney General in 1922, "was that no government official or employee should serve two masters to the prejudice of his unbiased devotion to the interests of the United States." I think this pretty elementary. I think the people of this country at least have a right to know when a public official is also on a private pay roll, especially when he is engaged, as PAW officials are, in regulating the affairs of his own industry. I think that when men are on the public pay roll and a private pay roll at one and the same time it is hardly candid to draw a moral distinction between them and dollar-a-year men. The only difference is that we get their services more cheaply at the WPB than at the PAW. I frankly cannot understand how a public official with a record like that of Harold Ickes can justify his refusal to give the facts to a Congressional committee.

So many have been the inquiries about this matter that the PAW is giving out mimeographed copies of a letter sent by Attorney General Francis Biddle to the President

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on April 27, 1942. PAW represents this letter as authorization for the acceptance of private salaries by its officials. But I do not think the letter supports the interpretation given it. The letter is a reply to a request from the White House for an opinion "whether it is proper for an officer of the United States to engage in private business activities and be compensated for so doing." Davies in his letter to Rivers said his subordinates "devote their undivided effort" to the PAW. If this is true, the question put to Biddle does not cover them. PAW seems to rely on a sentence in the Biddle opinion which says that the statute quoted above "does not, however, prohibit payment for services rendered exclusively to private persons or organizations and which have no connection with the services rendered to the government." But this does not cover PAW officials, for Davies's excuse for the dual salaries was that "we can't get an organization to do this work at government salaries." In that case, the payments from the private companies do supplement government salaries for work done for the government—clearly a violation of the statute.

We need not be legalistic or babes in the wood. The big companies from which the leading officials of PAW are drawn have never distinguished themselves by an over-punctilious sense of propriety in dealing with the government. If the Shell Oil Company was as anxious as Cumming said that he should "have nothing to do with them as long as [he] was in Washington," Shell Oil is a very unusual company. Most companies assign men to WPB, PAW, or other agencies because they want someone there to see that their interests are taken care of.

The Rivers subcommittee seemed to think the situation at PAW no different from at WPB. "The Petroleum Administration for War was criticized by nearly every witness," its report said, "for . . . favoritism to the big oil companies, whose employees predominantly man the Petroleum Administration for War." Surveying the activities of the PAW's all-powerful district committees, the subcommittee found "discrimination against the weaker independent members of the industry under the guise of furthering the war effort." This is exactly the kind of criticism that Ickes has aimed in the past at the WPB and the RFC.

Labor's Fourteen Million Votes

BY ROBERT BENDINER

ON JUNE 26 last any one of a hundred Congressmen might have been seen to sit back and rub his hands in solid satisfaction. Over the President's veto the Smith-Connally anti-strike bill had been made the law of the land; after ten years of overindulgence at the hands of New Deal "professors," labor, these statesmen thought, had been put in its place. They had voted—or so they believed—to arrest a trend, to check the political advances of the unions. In their astigmatic way the Congressmen did not see that what they had really done was to give labor a political awareness which may well cost some of them their jobs as representatives of the people. They had made a good many wage-earners suddenly understand that henceforth their security would depend not only on the success of a union's dickerings with an employer but equally on the attitude of Presidents, Representatives, and Senators.

The demonstration, however unintentional, was effective, and it quickly bore fruit. From the C. I. O., the A. F. of L., and the Railroad Brotherhoods alike came hot words of protest—and some plain speaking about the 1944 elections. Trade-union leaders of every caliber and every faction were agreed at least that their casual trust in the self-perpetuation of labor's New Deal gains had been unwarranted, that their beauty nap in the election campaigns of 1940 and 1942 had been bought at too high a price.

The awakening was all to the good, but political consciousness is not the same thing as political solidarity. In the first flush of disillusion and alarm, labor, like Leacock's knight, has leaped to the saddle and galloped off in all directions. Sections of the A. F. of L., pinning the Smith-Connally bill on the Southern Democrats and jealous of alleged favoritism toward the C. I. O., have soured on the Administration as a whole and are ready to give the nod to the first Republican who tosses them a kind word. This drift can be counted on to reach ground-swell proportions should Willkie be nominated. John L. Lewis, on the other hand, now detests Willkie even more than he does Roosevelt and is playing a waiting game in the hope that fate will make it unnecessary for him to choose between his two best hates. The political direction of the Railroad Brotherhoods will probably be decided by the government's handling of the current strike crisis. At the moment the Brotherhood leaders are resentful over what they regard as the favored treatment accorded to Lewis's miners, who were allowed to violate the Little Steel wage formula because they insisted. They are equally resentful over the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee, which for the sake of the war

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effort would have them sacrifice a time-honored tradition of discriminating against Negroes. Victor Riesel, the New York *Post's* labor columnist, reports that some of them have taken to mumbling about "the President's Harvard professors."

Sidney Hillman

On the side of the Administration, and geared for political action on a scale no major labor group has yet attempted in this country, are the unions of the C. I. O. Their story in the campaign of 1944 will be the story of a new agency and a fateful experiment in American labor politics—the C. I. O. Committee on Political Action, appointed by Philip Murray and headed by Sidney Hillman.

It should be said at the outset that the Political Action Committee aspires to give direction not merely to the C. I. O. unions but to great sections of American labor beyond those boundaries and to farmer and independent liberal groups as well. It is a major bid for progressive unity on the political front—and on its banners may well rest the hopes of Franklin D. Roosevelt for his own re-election or for the election of his chosen successor.

NON-PARTISAN BUT—

Ostensibly the Political Action Committee is not bound to support Roosevelt or the Democratic Party, but its protestations on this score need not be taken seriously. It is true that at last November's convention of the C. I. O. President Murray was not prepared to tell the Democratic Party or any other party, " 'Here we are, meek and humble of spirit, prepared to give to you our bodies and our souls in a state of abject surrender.' " And he did in fact suggest that 1944 would be time enough to make selections for 1944. But Hillman, agreeing technically and with obvious reluctance, could not resist adding that if the election were only a few months away he would still raise his voice and "urge, for the sake of humanity, the nation, and labor, the nomination and reelection of Franklin Delano Roosevelt." Since Hillman was deliberately chosen as kingpin of the committee, it may be assumed that the "bodies and souls" involved will ultimately be delivered to the Democrats, if not "in a state of abject surrender," then perhaps in a state of mild protest—but in any event delivered.

Hillman explains the committee as a kind of spontaneous generation. Realistic C. I. O. leaders, he says, did not blink the fact that labor had taken a severe drubbing at the polls in 1942. The same truth did not escape the Seventy-eighth Congress, and the Smith-Connally law, which among other choice provisions forbade unions to contribute to political parties, was merely the most blatant expression of a triumphant hostility that promised even direr things to come. Meeting in executive session, the C. I. O. high command voted on July 7 to sound out other labor and farmer groups on the chances of a common effort to arrest the trend. A committee was appointed under Hillman's chairmanship to explore and report back. The objective, Hillman told me, is "to provide a mechanism for organizing, ward by ward and precinct by precinct, the progressive forces of the country for the election campaign of 1944 and to make sure that the issues of that campaign will be real issues." The foremost of these is to be full employment after the war, and beyond that a foreign policy compatible with democracy at home. The punch behind the program, according to the blueprint, is to be the pooled voting strength of fourteen million trade unionists.

In view of labor's divided political sentiments it is no doubt wise of Hillman to emphasize issues rather than candidates or parties. Republicans as well as Democrats are eligible for the committee's support in Congressional and local fights. Nevertheless, only the most naive observer can doubt that the committee will in fact be a campaign instrument for the New Deal wing of the Democratic Party. In the first place, Hillman, in the course of his unity explorations, has called for a "National United Labor League" which would support candidates "who have demonstrated their consistent and unequivocal support of President Roosevelt on all major issues, domestic and foreign." Secondly, the Administration has already assigned some of its best talent to work with the committee. C. B. Baldwin, once administrator of the Farm Security Agency, has been lent out as Hillman's administrative assistant. Former Representative McKeough of Illinois, an ardent New Dealer, will act as regional director for Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin. And Maury Maverick is being pressed to serve in the Southwest. All are expected to work closely with the White House. Finally, the committee is dead set against the one kind of action that would finish all Democratic hopes for a 1944 victory—recourse by labor or progressives to a national third party. Hillman himself is not impressed with the argument that with labor's support assured so early in the game, the President would be free to concentrate on conciliating the right. On the contrary, he argues, concessions are made only to power.

PROGRESS: ON PAPER AND OTHERWISE

Reporting back to the C. I. O. convention in November, Hillman recounted the achievements of his exploratory campaign. In ten regional conferences he had consulted with C. I. O. representatives from more than

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forty states, and had obtained unanimous and enthusiastic agreement, not to mention three-quarters of a million dollars. He had appealed to local officials of the A. F. of L. and the Brotherhoods, and nowhere did he "find opposition from any section of the organized labor movement for some kind of cooperation on political action." In Philadelphia, in the state of New Jersey, and in many other places, he reported, "all of labor is organically united for political action." Unofficially he spoke of a $5,000,000 "educational" fund in the making and expressed the hope that the Federation, the Brotherhoods, and the C. I. O. would hold a convention of their own prior to the Presidential conventions. Recommendations would be drawn up for inclusion in the platforms of the major parties and labor standards set up for candidates. The convention voted full approval, and its Committee on Political Action buckled down to work.

Since November the committee claims to have established organic unity, that is, single groups representing all major labor organizations, in the states of Vermont and Louisiana, and on a city-wide basis in Oakland, Cleveland, and St. Louis. A similar setup is said to be on the way in Minnesota, Arkansas, and Seattle. Parallel unity—separate groups working cooperatively for the same local candidates—is reported to obtain in Washington, Kentucky, and West Virginia. Committee officials even talk hopefully of primary drives in some of the most benighted strongholds of the South, with fights scheduled against "Cotton Ed" Smith in South Carolina, Dies in Texas, and possibly Rankin in Mississippi.

It should not belittle either the purposes or the prospects of the Political Action Committee to note in this picture the somewhat gaudy tints of the professional political artist. The C. I. O. unions, it may be taken for granted, will deliver, as promised, a solid bloc for the New Deal candidate—assuming there is a New Deal candidate and assuming the committee succeeds in getting out a full vote (in itself no mean objective in view of labor's sluggishness in the recent past). But it is doubtful whether the unity attained so far with the A. F. of L. or the Brotherhoods amounts to anything politically significant on a national scale. All too often "organic unity" is just another term for the inevitable collaboration of small progressive groups that have time after time worked together, plus an A. F. of L. local here and another there—the nucleus for a broad front perhaps but hardly a front in itself. Philadelphia's United Labor Committee, established a year ago, is already cracking under the strain. In the mayoralty campaign of last November the Communist-controlled affiliates not unnaturally refused to go along in support of William C. Bullitt and worked at cross-purposes with their organically united colleagues. Now the A. F. of L. Teamsters are reported to have withdrawn unofficially or to be on the verge of doing so.

In Minnesota, to put another claim to the test, the unity achieved is not so much a product of the Political Action Committee as it is the A. F. of L.'s contribution to a statewide effort for a united Democratic–Farmer Labor ticket. The C. I. O., comparatively weak in that state, is merely going along. On the Pacific Coast the committee has come to terms with the powerful Teamsters' machine of Dave Beck, but it should be remembered that at the top of the Teamsters is Dan Tobin, chairman of the labor committee of the Democratic Party. If this particular Federation union couldn't be counted on to cooperate, the prospects of a solid labor front would be too faint to be seen by the naked eye.

In the top reaches of the A. F. of L. there is nothing but coolness for the advances of the Political Action Committee. When Hillman told the convention that "not in a single place did [he] find opposition from any section of the organized labor movement," he was slyly forgetting at least one none too gentle rebuff. The executive council of the Federation, he had been told, rejected his proposals for joint action, preferring to follow its "old non-partisan policy without becoming entangled with committees of other organizations."

It is true that, given the autonomy of the Federation's affiliates, the council can speak only for itself, but the causes of its chilliness run deep into the fabric of the organization. Foremost, perhaps, is the jealousy of leaders, national and local. Hillman's prestige will rise or vanish with the success or failure of the New Deal next November. In the event of a victory he will be credited with having delivered labor's vote, and Federation leaders are not even faintly interested in contributing toward that end. Those among them who choose to back the Administration will want recognition for whatever votes they deliver. On the other hand, the possibility of a New Deal defeat is certain to lure some of them into the Republican camp, where in the event that their gamble proves sound they will be in all the better position because of the C. I. O.'s headlong commitment. Finally, Hillman's high-handed approach to the complex political situation in New York has violently alienated one of the largest and most powerful of the Federation's unions—David Dubinsky's International Ladies' Garment Workers—and has probably sealed the doom of the American Labor Party.

NIGHTMARE IN NEW YORK

The incredible muddle in New York requires an article in its own right; its intricacies can only be suggested here. Logically the American Labor Party, undeviating in its support of the New Deal, should have been made the core around which the Political Action Committee built its unity structure in the state. Hillman agreed to treat it as such but laid down the conditions that it accept the affiliation of all unions desiring to join and that representatives of all unions be admitted to the ruling

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council of the party. The theory was that the C. I. O. could hardly support an organization from which any of its constituent unions were barred, whatever the political complexion of their leaders. To accept the proposal, therefore, the A. L. P. would have to abandon its long and bitter struggle to keep Communists from attaining dominant positions in the party. Acting on the principle that Communists are entitled to their own party but not to others, the right-wing leaders of the A. L. P. will not yield. They are bitter at Hillman, who they fully believe has deliberately jockeyed them into an impossible position partly out of personal animosity toward Dubinsky.

Aside from certain legal objections to the Hillman proposal, the A. L. P. leaders insist that even if they wished to surrender, their party workers—the men and women who ring doorbells, speak on street corners, and in general carry the burden of campaigning—would abandon the party in droves rather than accept a united front with Communists after years of mutual castigation. The way would then be open for the Communists to sweep in and take over the ward machinery and the club houses, the heart of the party, regardless of how small a minority they might be in its top councils. Who else would be ready to step into the precincts? Certainly not Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The A. L. P. would have accepted an alternative proposal, its leaders told me, whereby the party, its own structure unaffected, would attach itself as a unit to a statewide political-action league organized for the 1944 campaign.

To all of which Hillman answers blandly that the left wing is fast taking over the party as it is, and that his scheme would at least prevent the Communists from controlling the state committee. The fact is that in making his proposal Sidney Hillman had nothing to lose. Should the New Deal come to grief in 1944, an A. L. P. revamped along the lines he suggests would probably disintegrate. Should a New Deal candidate win, Hillman would have made use of the party, and whether or not it became a Communist front afterward would not, I think, greatly concern him. It is my belief, therefore, that Alex Rose, George Counts, and David Dubinsky, the guiding spirits of the A. L. P., will flatly reject the Hillman proposal. Along with the district leaders they will shortly decide whether to abandon the party now or hold out in the hope of defeating the left-wingers—who in that event will be aided by Hillman's followers—in a bitterly contested April primary.

Whatever his intentions, Hillman has created, in the name of unity, a seething disunity in the most crucial of all the states. He may be able to make up for it in the other forty-seven, and, considering what is at stake, there should be no liberal so partisan as not to wish him well. If he fails and the New Deal is drowned in a flood of hostile ballots, it will be many a year before labor will again be recognized as a political force in the United States. In that event the rivalries that now separate a Brotherhood locomotive engineer from a Federation teamster, or an I. L. G. dress cutter from a C. I. O. steel riveter, will seem like wretched stuff beside the headaches that will afflict them all in common—because government will continue to play a major role in their affairs, and an unsympathetic government can be a lot harder to bargain with than an unsympathetic employer.

In the Wind

NEW YEAR'S PREDICTION. Around City Hall in Jersey City the talk is that Republican Governor-Elect Walter Edge will appoint as Prosecutor of Hudson County, to take the place of Dan O'Regan, who tried John Longo, another of Hague's henchmen now on the bench.

ON NOVEMBER 20 THIS COLUMN reported the dismissal of Joseph Kaufman, liberal columnist on the Lynn, Massachusetts, *Telegram-News*. Almost immediately after sacking Kaufman, the *Telegram-News* dropped another column, McGlue's News-Vues, which had appeared on the same page. This had consisted of anti-New Deal, anti-Semitic, anti-Russian propaganda fashioned by one Charles S. McGlue, former associate of James M. Curley. The local Newspaper Guild, exercising its rights under a closed-shop contract, had served notice on the publisher that it would not accept McGlue into membership and that he could no longer continue to write for the paper.

THE WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD recently carried the names of seventy-four men who would shortly report for active duty in the armed forces. At the foot of the list was the name of Joseph E. Flemmings, followed by "Colored Inductee."

A TEMPLE CONGREGATION in Houston, Texas, recently passed a resolution barring from voting membership any Jew who practiced the dietary laws of orthodox Judaism, favored the perpetuation of Hebrew as a language, or belonged to any organization favoring Zionism. The congregation bears a Hebrew name, *Beth Israel*, which in English means "House of Israel."

FESTUNG EUROPA: A bomb exploded in a Norwegian printing shop where a German sympathizer was having a book printed. Fifteen innocent employees were slightly injured. The saboteurs sent each of them flowers. . . . In a raid on a large transformer station in Frederiksberg (Copenhagen) seven saboteurs disarmed the policemen on guard by emptying their revolvers and taking their ammunition. The ammunition, however, was returned to the policemen by post, according to promise.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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British Tories Look Ahead

BY MALLORY BROWNE

London, December 10

FOUR and a half years of total war have changed many things in England, including the Conservative Party itself. British Tories today are rallying in ever-greater numbers round a political program which would make the American New Deal—even the New Deal of the old days—look rather like diehard conservatism.

The Conservative Party has always considered itself the aggressive defender of tradition, but it has never denied that even tradition changes, and one can reasonably argue that the younger Conservatives have been quicker to grasp the political implications of the changes wrought by the war than their Labor opponents. Off the record the leaders of the Labor Party acknowledge that there has been a definite shift in the political outlook in the past few months—indeed, almost in the past few weeks. The political currents in England which until recently were flowing strongly leftward are no longer doing so, although it is too early to say that the main trend is now in the opposite direction.

One reason for Tory confidence, of course, is Winston Churchill himself. It is hard to beat the leader who can say, "I led you to victory in the war; follow me and win the peace." And Churchill is not only the head of the government; he is also the Conservative leader.

But there is another important reason for the British Conservatives' recovered prestige. It is their readiness to take a position as defenders of the new tradition, although the essence of this new tradition is not Conservatism at all but the social reform which Conservatism for so long resisted. With magnificent disregard of this fact the Conservatives are calling their new program "Forward—by the Right!" The slogan has been used as the title of a booklet issued recently by the Tory Reform Committee, which has caused a real stir in British politics.

What, then, is the Tory Reform Committee? It consists of a number of Conservative members of Parliament most of whom, though not all, belong to the group commonly referred to here as the "Young Tories." Originally formed in February, 1943, to encourage the government to take constructive action along the lines of the Beveridge plan for social security, the committee has since evolved into an organization with much more comprehensive objectives. When its members found that they were agreed as to the principles which they felt should govern the conduct of political affairs, they decided to produce a complete program of action.

In explaining why it issued its statement, the Tory Reform Committee makes a significant admission—namely, that the ends which it seeks do not differ essentially from those of many of its Labor opponents:

> The great material needs of human society are peace and an adequacy of the essentials of life for every human being. No political party can fail to reflect in its policy the overwhelming demand of the British people for those ends. There is some disposition today to think that this identity of ends destroys the significance of party politics. This is not so; the vital difference between parties has been . . . in the means by which these ends are to be achieved.

The reformers go still farther. They attack the right-wing diehard members of their own party in the following caustic sentence: "If there are still any Conservatives whose political ambition is to return to the conditions which existed between the wars, or who regard the party merely as a convenient organization for exposing the fallacies of socialism, they are today of small account."

Much of the sixteen-page pamphlet is, of course, mere election propaganda, designed to make Conservatism look as attractive as possible to people who are being wooed by the left as well as the right. But it contains some real contributions, of which perhaps the most important is an insistence on full employment.

> The supreme test of parliamentary democracy will lie in its ability to reconcile planning for full employment with the liberty of the individual. . . . There is considerable agreement among economists that the demand for capital goods is the factor which determines the activity of trade, and this in turn depends upon the investment of savings. We therefore consider that the government must so influence or, if necessary, control the volume and timing of expenditure on capital goods as to insure an adequate demand for them at any time.

This emphasis on full employment acquires significance from signs that at least the younger Conservatives really mean it. During the debate on the King's speech at the opening of the new session of Parliament late in November, the Tory Reform Committee put down an amendment severely criticizing the government—which meant criticizing some of their own party leaders—because of the failure of the speech to include a practical program for giving effect to the government's rather vague assurances about full employment. Most Conservatives in Britain today realize that if they are to save the system of private profit, as they are determined to do,

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they must prevent another serious slump and large-scale, long-term unemployment. The value of the Tory Reform Committee's recommendations is that they crystallize this realization into a concrete policy.

Here are some of the committee's views on other outstanding issues:

Removing the causes of war:

> The interdependence of nations is economic as well as political. Restraint against aggression will in the long run be ineffective unless it is accompanied by constructive steps to remove the causes of dispute. The joint machinery of war must be adapted to the needs of peace. Organizations of the nature of the Middle East Supply Center should be continued. The International Labor Office and the Hague Court . . . should be revived.

Cooperation with America, Russia, and China:

> The welfare of the human race will depend in the immediate post-war period on mutual cooperation and understanding between the British Commonwealth, the United States of America, the U. S. S. R., and the Republic of China. The final structure of any world organization must clearly be founded on an even broader basis than cooperation of this type.

Social security:

> Social Security [must be] guaranteed by adequate minimum wages and a system of social insurance on the lines proposed by Sir William Beveridge. Such security implies a corresponding obligation on the part of individuals who are capable of so doing to contribute by their labor to the national wealth and the establishment of a preventive and curative health service to insure that the maximum number can so contribute.

Private property and freedom:

> The freedom to vote secured by our parliamentary institutions is not of itself enough. It must be buttressed by an increasing measure of economic independence in the individual. For this reason we regard private property as indispensable to political freedom and consider that a widespread distribution of private property should be the aim of parliamentary government.

The importance of this Tory reform program lies in the fact that in addition to being a parliamentary election platform it gives a pretty fair preview of what post-war England is going to be like. "Forward—by the Right!" represents, it is true, only the left-wing of British Conservatism and has not yet received the indorsement of the party as a whole, but public opinion, as it will emerge from this war, will be at least as far to the left as the Young Tory reformers. Mr. Churchill, the party leader, is much too keen a politician not to realize this, and it can be taken for granted that the party will eventually adopt a program which will say the same thing in slightly different words.

But will the Conservatives carry out such a program? The answer is that they will probably be forced to do so, first by the growing strength of the reform movement within their ranks, and secondly in order to combat the increased strength of the Labor and Liberal opposition.

It seems more and more likely, therefore, that whoever occupies the White House in Washington after the war will find over here in Whitehall a nominally Conservative government ready to go at least as far to the left, in both domestic and international affairs, as the Roosevelt Democrats of the New Deal days.

John Longo and Frank Hague

BY McALISTER COLEMAN

A YEAR ago this month John Longo, twenty-nine-year-old crusader against the regime of Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City, was brought up short by this headline in the *Jersey Journal*, mouthpiece for the Boss: "Longo Denies Tampering with Election Books." From bitter experience in his ten-year war with the Hague machine he realized immediately that Hague's henchmen were once more on his trail and hurried to consult his friend and comrade-in-arms, J. Owen Grundy. "They're after us again," exclaimed Grundy when he had read the story; "we've got to make the fight all over."

The anonymous writer for the *Journal* had said that William E. Sewall, Hudson County Supervisor of Elections, an appointee of Governor Edison, charged Longo with tampering with the permanent registration book of the 1941 Jersey primaries in order to change his registration from Republican to Democrat so that he could get a job from Edison. As Longo had seen no reporter from the *Journal* he had, of course, made no denial, nor did anyone around Sewall's office know about any charges. But there was evidently more to the piece than sheer malice. Its purpose must be to discredit Longo with the Governor and the headline-reading public and perhaps set in train some sort of court action.

Grundy busied himself with defensive plans as he had done so often in the past. From their days together in Lincoln High School he and Longo had been inseparable. It was Grundy who first interested the high-spirited, eloquent Italian youth in the strange ways of

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politics in their shabby water-front town. Owen would take Johnny along on frequent visits to Journal Square cafeterias, where the youngsters would listen for hours to muted talk about Hague's latest shenanigans. Owen was a great hand at collecting the writings of the politically heterodox, and he showed Johnny autographed books by Upton Sinclair, Lincoln Steffens, Norman Thomas, with all of whom he had corresponded. In this fashion Owen found escape from his meager home life with an invalid mother, behind their little delicatessen shop on a drab Jersey City street. He and Longo agreed that it was their duty to destroy Hague and Hagueism and that they would support any man or party—Socialist, Communist, Republican, Democratic—that would help them.

Longo had other than political motives for his deep-seated detestation of the lean man in the City Hall. A devout Catholic, he was grieved to know that the evil reputation of the Catholic Mayor was hurting his church everywhere. He was shocked to see church dignitaries sitting on platforms behind the ranting Mayor, eagerly accepting his benefactions, openly campaigning for his reelection. Further, he resented the scornful attitude of the peat-bog élite of the City Hall toward the Italians of the town. "They think you are fit only for garbage collectors," he told his Italian American audiences.

In 1938, at the height of the C. I. O. civil-liberties campaign in Jersey City, Longo spoke against Hague over the radio—he was introduced as secretary of the Holy Name Society of his church, Our Lady of Sorrows—and the City Hall gang put him down for immediate punishment. Soon the brash youth was a prisoner in Hague's private Dachau—the unspeakable Secaucus Penitentiary. His crime? With magnificent irony he was convicted of election irregularities in Hudson County, conditions in which had just been described by a refreshingly honest election official in the following words:

> We know it is futile to attempt to arrest anyone belonging to the Democratic organization in Hudson County on Election Day: the accuser usually finds himself in jail as the arrested party by the time he gets to the station house . . . the only way to have an honest election in Hudson County under present conditions is with the militia, and if the present conditions continue, it is futile and ridiculous for us to attempt to hold further elections in Hudson County.

From his cell Longo sent letters reaffirming his faith in his God and his mission, touchingly brave, naive letters which Grundy read aloud to sympathizers in the living-room behind the small shop, with curtains drawn against the spying of Hague's secret police. Grundy labored devotedly to free his friend, and it was largely through his one-man drive that Longo's sentence was shortened to seven months—seven months of physical and spiritual torture.

Alarming as were the implications of the *Journal* story, the two crusaders still felt that they were in a better position to defend themselves than they had been in 1938. There was an honest man in the Trenton State House, and a succession of deaths had enabled him to put anti-Hague men in the very citadels of Hudson County. To be sure, Governor Edison had time and again been let down shabbily by Washington. His suggestions for a candidate for a federal judgeship had recently been pointedly ignored by the President in favor of a Hague machine-tender. When Longo appeared before a Senate committee, headed by New Jersey's Senator Smathers, considering the qualifications of Hague's choice, the young man was mercilessly bullied. Smathers called him a "crackpot" and wanted to know why he was not in the army—a crippled foot had placed him in 4-F.

Longo's protest to Washington further enraged the City Hall gang, but nevertheless, with the Governor's backing, he was sworn in as deputy county clerk of Hudson County in the same courtroom from which he had been sent to Secaucus. Grundy had a post in the Superintendent of Elections office, and for a little space the position of the two fighters seemed secure.

But not for long. One day last April Grundy, in a state of sweating fear, burst into the Journal Square office of Raymond Chasan, lawyer for both men and for years their intimate friend, and said that he had been summoned to appear before the grand jury. He knew that it had to do with the story of Longo's changing the registration. Chasan tried to calm his excited client, urging him to repeat to the jury what Grundy had constantly asserted, namely, that he knew nothing of any such incident. Grundy returned in high fettle, rejoicing over what he took to be his victory in a verbal duel with Prosecutor Daniel O'Regan. However, in a few days the grand jury handed down indictments against both Grundy and Longo. When he heard the news, Grundy exclaimed, "This time they have indicted Longo and his Voltaire as well!"

Now an alarming change came over Grundy. The old crusading fire was quenched in him. He acted like a beaten man. He threw up his job with Sewall and was seen no more by the cafeteria philosophers. When visitors came to the little store he would call out to them, "They have struck me below the belt." He hinted at suicide. The gray men from the City Hall took to hanging around the Grundy store, and he was frequently seen in their company. In the court proceedings that followed he studiously avoided Longo, going around with the prosecutor's assistants, head hung low, "for all the world like van der Lubbe at the Reichstag-fire trial," said one observer.

On April 26, still apparently in a blind panic, Grundy went again to Chasan. Again the lawyer tried to reassure him, but Grundy turned on his heel and went out into

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the Square, where he was joined by a Hague lieutenant. An hour later Chasan's telephone rang. "What do you say about your young idealists now?" asked the reporter at the other end of the wire. "I thought you'd like to know that Grundy has just crawled into Judge Brown's chambers and confessed that he changed Johnny Longo's registration from Republican to Democratic. He says he did it because Longo told him to. He says he'll testify to this effect when the trial comes up."

Chasan was incredulous, but the next day, before Judge Thomas H. Brown in the Court of Common Pleas, Grundy pleaded guilty to altering the records of the 1941 primaries at John Longo's order.

Mayor Hague

Chasan wanted the help of a trial lawyer, but it is not easy to find a Jersey City lawyer who will buck the Hague machine. Finally Julius Lichenstein consented to tackle the ungrateful job, asking only that he have time to study the case. Judge Brown, however, hurried the case to trial. Chasan and Lichenstein, on the ground that they were not ready for trial, refused to put in any defense for Longo. Grundy and five other employees in the office of the Superintendent of Elections swore to the altering of the registration book, Grundy testifying that he had made the change while Longo stood by, the others swearing that they had seen the two men poring over the book. The book itself was not produced; no physical evidence was brought into court. After brief deliberation a jury of seven women and five men found Longo guilty. "I feel as if I were in Berlin," exclaimed Longo as he was led away.

On June 2, 1943, Judge Brown sentenced Longo to a penitentiary term to run from eighteen months to three years. A motion for a new trial was denied, and Longo was held under $2,000 bail. Grundy, under custody of the prosecutor, was not sentenced, and has not been sentenced at this writing, though the law provides that sentence must be pronounced within forty-four days after trial.

Only the men in the prosecutor's office know where Grundy is today, and they are not telling, though Governor Edison sent state troopers armed with warrants for the missing man all over the state immediately after the trial. The Governor, who said that the trial should cause the judiciary of the state "to hang their heads in shame," wanted Grundy to testify in an investigation of Sewall's office which he had started. But no one answers the door bell at the Grundy place, and neighbors say they have seen neither Owen nor his mother since the trial; the supposition is that Grundy is being kept outside the state until Edison leaves office on January 18. The story goes that Grundy was told he would have to take a long prison "rap" if he did not testify against Longo and was promised draft deferment if he would turn against his friend.

Digging into the records of the case, Chasan, who had just begun to fight, came upon an item revealing that the prosecutor had informed the jury that a handwriting expert had examined the supposedly altered entry. This expert, when he was finally found by Chasan, said he had demonstrated to O'Regan that an alteration had indeed been made in the square opposite Longo's name in the registration book. The letters "Rep" had been erased, but in their place whoever did the tampering had written "Rep" once more. Evidently someone had blundered. Why were not this expert and the book on which he worked brought into court? To ask that question is to indicate an ignorance of the ways of Hudson County justice: it is the business of a prosecutor to convict those upon whom Hague has laid his long finger. A demand for a certificate of reasonable doubt on this fresh evidence having been denied by Judge Brown, Chasan brought the matter before Chief Justice Brogan of the New Jersey Supreme Court, who granted the right of appeal to his court.

In the meantime the Jersey City mobsters had been giving Longo the lumps. When he was in jail in Secaucus he was not allowed to wear the orthopedic shoes built for his crippled foot. Remembering the sufferings which prison shoes had caused him, Longo went to the Postgraduate Hospital in New York City soon after his second trial for an operation on his foot. He was immediately arrested as "a fugitive from justice," and a Jersey City cop was stationed at his bedside. His bail was forfeited. After he was brought back to New Jersey he was imprisoned for three weeks until his distracted mother raised $5,000 bail on the Longo store and home.

Grundy is not the only one who has deserted Longo in his hour of agony. The Communists, who at one time so completely surrounded him that he was identified with their cause by the Hague men, are content to deprecate mildly his persecution. When Longo came out of Secaucus, the comrades held a dinner in his honor at which Representative Vito Marcantonio, his lawyer at the time, spoke long and fulsomely. Today the Communist Party of New Jersey has no harsh words for Longo's persecutor. The unfortunate youth, they declare in a statement which is a masterpiece of euphemism, "has become the victim of a political feud between Mayor Frank Hague and Governor Charles A. Edison."

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Very politely they call upon His Honor to release him, not only as a matter of simple justice but because "any other course will hamper, not advance, the cause of national unity."

Hagueism, say the Communists, is now really "a myth." To be sure, in the old days there were some dubious goings-on, but now everything has changed—like their line. They are frequently seen today in the company of Frank Eggers, Hague's nephew and heir apparent, who struts around Journal Square in the uniform of a reserve officer in the Coast Guard; it is said to have been upon the advice of the Communists that Eggers became the first prominent Jerseyite to indorse President Roosevelt for a fourth term. The Communists have suggested to Eggers that he explain to Uncle Frank, who is now basking in the Florida sunshine, that all is sweetness and light between the Hague machine and those whom the Mayor used to call "them goddam Commoonists."

Some decent elements in Jersey are still sticking to Longo. The state's textile workers (C. I. O.) have pledged support through their executive committee. The State Federation of Teachers (A. F. of L.) at a recent convention passed a resolution denouncing what Chasan has called "the worst political frame-up in the history of Jersey." The Jersey City Affairs Committee, headed by the redoubtable James E. Pope, has been active in Longo's behalf, and over the river *PM* has done a yeoman's job on the case.

The Longo affair, with its Dostoevski coloring of cowardice and betrayal, and with its shining courage as well, is in danger of being submerged beneath larger national and international issues. It seems to some, however, to test all our liberal integrity. Some years ago, when Frank Murphy was Attorney General, a Civil Liberties Division was set up in the United States Department of Justice. Agents of the division came to Jersey City to investigate a mountain of charges against the Hague gang but departed after an ignominious failure to accomplish anything. Now Attorney General Biddle is being urged to investigate not only the Longo case but a number of others involving Hague. What will Biddle do about the evil activities of the vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, the most corrupt character in our public life today? Will he continue the Administration's policy of appeasing Hague so as to keep New Jersey in the Democratic column? The futility of this craven attitude has already been shown. At the last gubernatorial election thousands of disillusioned liberals voted for a spavined Republican wheel-horse in preference to a labor candidate on the Democratic ticket who had received the Judas kiss of Hague. The Democrats have lost New Jersey by default and have nothing more to lose by stopping Hague. It is a strange situation when an appeal for simple justice has to be couched in such horse-trading terms.

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

A RECENT VIENNA DISPATCH says that the various nationalities "appear unwilling to wait for the peace conference, thinking that what they are able to grab now they will be able to keep." If Mid-Europe is not to unscramble itself into a worse than Balkan chaos the Allies must act quickly, and must let it be clearly understood that the occupation of territory under orders of the Supreme Allied Council does not mean the ultimate determination of boundaries. —*December 7, 1918.*

IT IS GRATIFYING TO KNOW that, up to the present moment, the necessarily limited operations of the Shakespeare Playhouse have met with substantial favor and support. In the present degenerate condition of the theater, which is largely abandoned to purely commercial, ephemeral, frivolous, or demoralizing entertainments, any movement calculated to foster in the rising generation a knowledge and appreciation of the great masterpieces of the literary drama is of the greatest public interest and importance.—*December 14, 1918.*

IN REPLY TO THE NOTE received from the French government on November 15, announcing that France would not recognize the government in Finland which was headed by a king chosen from a nation at war with France, the Finnish Minister for Foreign Affairs has denied that the choice of a king was dictated by Germany. Prince Karl, according to the statement of the Minister, was offered the throne voluntarily with no nomination from Germany. "International law," the Minister concludes, "knows no stipulation which prevents neutral states from selecting a dynasty from a belligerent nation."—*December 14, 1918.*

THE LABOR UNIONS ARE APPARENTLY beginning a definite campaign to oust women from war-time positions, and the government, through the Labor Department and the War Labor Board, appears to be concurring. The secretary of the American Federation of Labor talks of the "problems of disposing of women in overalls and in uniform." "Woman's place is not on the street car," says W. D. Mahon, national president of the Carmen's Union.—*December 21, 1918.*

IT IS PLEASANT TO READ of the flattering reception which Mr. Wilson has met with in France, and of the favorable impression which his early public utterances have made. It would be an immense relief if the country might also know that the outlook was bright for a harmonious peace conference, and that the broad principles of justice which Mr. Wilson has repeatedly phrased would be frankly and unhesitatingly adhered to.—*December 21, 1918.*

EVERY FARMER KNOWS today the price at which he can sell his wheat next summer. This explains why he has planted the largest acreage ever devoted to winter wheat. Not so the industrial manager, however. He is confronted with the problems of a falling market and a high labor cost which will not come down until living costs have been reduced.—WILLIAM JUSTIS BOIES, *December 28, 1918.*

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"Liberated" Italy

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

MUSSOLINI is the Nazi rubber stamp in "occupied" Italy. King Victor Emmanuel is the Anglo-Saxon rubber stamp in "liberated" Italy. "Victor Emmanuel," said the correspondent of the New York *Times* on October 12, "is the king, but the power behind his throne is the Allied Mission, and as things are shaping now, it is still going to be behind the throne when Victor Emmanuel is again king of Italy in Rome." In its turn the Allied Mission carries out orders coming from London and Washington through Algiers. The Algiers correspondent of the *Times* cabled on November 28 that "as long as the Allies will let him," the King will "cling to his throne," but that the last word "is after all more up to Washington and London than to the Allied authorities in Italy and here [Algiers]." If one keeps this basic fact in mind, one is in a position to understand the events which are taking shape in Italy.

In November, when he still hoped to arrange some compromise with the Committee of National Liberation in Naples, Badoglio made the following promise: "As far as I am concerned, once we reach Rome I shall be delighted to rid myself of my heavy burden." But the possibility of compromise was wrecked by the committee's stubborn demand that the King and his son should be removed. On December 5, therefore, Badoglio altered his plans. He told the United Press that he would resign only when "all Nazis are expelled from the last inch of Italian territory." A thousand years ago an astrologer promised the King of Egypt that he would teach a goat how to speak, but he gave himself ten years in which to do the job; during those ten years he was sure that the King or the goat or he himself would die. Pending the day when the Germans have been driven from the last inch of Italian territory, the Italian soldiers and officers who were forming volunteer units under Allied command were disbanded. The Italian war of liberation is to be fought under the King's shadow and not otherwise. The red, white, and green emblem of Italian nationhood has vanished; only the emblem of the royal house survives. The soldiers' uniform has "the cross of Savoy over the left breast pocket." "All vehicles are also marked with the cross of King Victor Emmanuel's house." This Badoglio and the Allied Mission have decreed.

On December 6, three months after the "unconditional surrender" of September 8, the first unit of Italian soldiers was used against the German lines. Most of them were massacred. As the New York *Herald Tribune* reported, "that gallant, pathetic drive could have ended only in slaughter." The King needed some hundreds of dead to demonstrate his prestige. He got them. Until September 8, 1943, the Italians had to fight against the Allies for Hitler and Mussolini. Now they have to fight against the Germans for the King and Badoglio. They will never, it seems, be permitted to fight for an Italy belonging to themselves.

On December 5 Badoglio announced that when military operations have been completed, the "entire nation" will not "decide" what shall be the ultimate solution of the constitutional problem but will merely "participate" in the solution. "The government would establish a constituent assembly of the two chambers which would express the people's feelings on the form of government they want." The "constituent assembly" would thus not be "elected by the people." It would be set up by the government and would consist of "two chambers"—that is, the Senate, whose present members, except for some decrepit bigwigs, were all appointed by the King on Mussolini's nomination and may be multiplied indefinitely at the King's discretion, and a lower house which Badoglio took care not to describe. On this, as on all points, the King and Badoglio—which means the powers in Algiers, London, and Washington that are behind the throne—will have the last word.

American and British authorities seem to be much concerned with the political opinions of the southern Italian peasantry. The New York *Times* Algiers correspondent told us on November 28 that "the southern Italian peasants, as against the more industrialized northern workers, are much more likely to be moved by appeals for King Victor Emmanuel than many people in the Allied world would like. And this feeling simply cannot be wholly ignored." If the southern Italian peasant should want to become the owner of the land he cultivates with the sweat of his brow, his desire might disturb the peace of mind of the Duke of Wellington, who owns a large estate at Bronte in Sicily and is a high official in the AMG there; in such an instance the feeling of the peasant would be ignored. Nor are the feelings of the workers of northern and central Italy, who are known not to want to have anything to do with royalty, to be considered. The only feeling which is to be taken into account is the alleged sentiment of the southern Italian peasants for the King—although how that sentiment has

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been tested we are not told. This punctilious regard for the "untrammeled sovereignty" of the southern Italian peasantry is moving in the highest degree.

On December 5 Badoglio also warned the Italians that until the Germans are driven out, "politics must take a back seat." He fully agrees with Colonel E. E. Hume, American military governor of the Naples area, who told the members of the Committee of National Liberation that "political rivalries must not interfere with the Italian war effort." "No politics, no politics," repeats General Alexander, the British head of the AMG. What do these men mean by "politics" and "political rivalries"?

A new party has been created in "liberated" Italy, a so-called "Blue Party," which supports the royal house and consists of "aristocrats and highly placed army and navy officers." The genesis of this movement is interesting. In 1911 a Nationalist Party was formed in Italy. It was monarchist, militarist, aristocratic, anti-parliamentarian, protectionist, and it favored an alliance between state and church. It was the party of the general staff of the army and navy and of big business. From 1920 to 1922 it favored the Fascist movement, though it remained apart from it. The Fascists wore black shirts; the Nationalists blue shirts. In 1923 the two parties merged. Mussolini's domestic and foreign policy from 1923 on was little more than the original Nationalist program. Now that the Fascist Party has been discredited by all kinds of disaster, the old Nationalist Party, renamed the Blue Party, has been revived under the wings of the AMG.

If we are to believe people in Naples, police and soldiers act as agents of the movement. The *Times* reported on November 29:

> Much of the poster-erecting is being done by carabinieri, sometimes in civilian clothes, at the orders of the military. . . . A Communist leader saw a youth putting up signs and remonstrated with him. Immediately four men came up—one in a soldier's uniform—and threatened to beat him if he did not go away immediately, the Communist said.

These activities do not seem to be regarded as "political rivalries" interfering with the war effort; nor do the exploits of army and navy officers who smash the presses of newspapers which refuse to "fall into line," or the threats of other well-meaning persons to beat and kill known anti-Fascists and to burn their houses.

The only people who play "politics" and indulge in "political rivalries" likely to interfere with the war effort are those who do not swallow whole the policies of Badoglio and the AMG. This is why, on December 11, a meeting of students of the University of Naples was broken up by the police. "Rocks were tossed at the police, who fired over the heads of about 300 students. . . . Armed guards have been stationed around the university." The AMG made an investigation and announced that it "may take action against Adolfo Omodeo, rector of the university, who has ignored three summons by public-security officers of AMG who intended to warn him against political activity at the university." The Associated Press, which gave this information, added that the students had called another meeting for Saturday, December 18, but that police officials said the meeting would be broken up "in an even more vigorous manner, if it [were] held without authorization." It is not difficult to believe that "the police are under the direction of two Fascist-appointed officials who have not been removed by the Allies."

Small wonder that the Italians, as the Associated Press reported in another dispatch, are persuaded that Fascism is being reinstated in southern Italy.

> Italians place part of the blame for current trends in Italy upon the occupying authorities. Many say that the British are determined to save the House of Savoy for dynastic reasons and that the Americans favor the continuance of a sort of fascism for the present as a bulwark against communism. Italian democrats also hold that the lack of civil liberties under the occupation is preventing the natural development of a representative government because there are no public assemblies or newspapers in which respective groups can reach the public with their ideas.

The students' meeting did not take place on December 18, but "at the last moment" permission was granted for a mass-meeting on December 19. Five thousand people demanded the immediate abdication of the King. "The tone of the meeting was anti-monarchist in the strict sense. The majority did not want even a regency," the *Times* reported on December 20. The AMG judged that the handling of that political rally was "tactless." As a consequence, according to the *Herald Tribune* of December 23, the AMG refused to permit a meeting of delegates of committees of National Liberation from the whole of "liberated" Italy.

Fortunately the "power behind the throne" is endowed with a magnificent sense of humor. The latest news is to the effect that Sicily, Sardinia, and a large section of the mainland will be placed under the King's men, but the administration will be intrusted to "men of good faith with Allied sympathies." Moreover, the Allied Mission will "be instructed to follow the Moscow declaration regarding Italy, in which the Allies said Fascism must be destroyed and Italians given the opportunity to set up a democratic system with freedom of the press, freedom of worship, and freedom of assembly."

However, on December 19 the Associated Press reported from Algiers that according to Colonel Hume "the AMG's task in Italy is not to squash Fascism but to defeat Germany." The Moscow conference was being playful when it announced that "Fascism and all its evil

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influences and configurations shall be utterly destroyed." The AMG's task in Italy is not only to defeat Germany. It is to preserve as much Fascism as possible in Italy.

[*This is the third of a series of articles by Dr. Salvemini on current Italian political developments.*]

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

IN war time, when millions of men are mobilized, few children are born. The Nazis don't like that. They aspire not only to more living space for their people but to more people for their living space. A propaganda campaign to raise the birth rate is under way, and in the *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte* for November Dr. Elisabeth Acterberg-von Puch gives instructions to the propagandists. Above all, women are to be warned against the "false friends and foolish relatives" who advise them not to become pregnant during the war. They must be made to realize that "bringing up war-time children ranks among the most important tasks in the total war effort," and that it is the duty of every German woman "to present children to the nation unreservedly and unconditionally, for the sole reason that children are needed." A certain reluctance seems to be shown by some men, especially men on leave from the front. "I simply cannot understand two people," says the Frau Doktor, "who are unwilling to have more children because the husband may not survive. Precisely for that reason a woman with sound feelings should want to have as many children by him as possible." She goes on to point out the many benefits received by expectant mothers. They are given an additional clothing card and larger food rations, and in cases of a "second or third war-time pregnancy usually get the food rations allowed to invalids, which very few persons can obtain."

It cannot be ascertained whether propaganda of this kind is filling German nurseries, those anterooms to barracks. In any case that is the Germans' affair. Unfortunately, other people are affected by a project which the S. S. and the Gestapo have inaugurated in Norway.

This is one of the most repulsive schemes that the Nazi race maniacs ever thought up. An organization with the romantic name of "Well of Life" has been created to deal with the children born of German soldiers and Norwegian women. Its methods have been described by the author of the plan, the notorious Gestapo general and S. S. leader Wilhelm Rediess, in a confidential memorandum entitled "Sword and Cradle: The S. S. Works for a Greater Germany." Excerpts from this "inhuman document" were published by the Stockholm *Dagens Nyheter* on December 12.

The General finds German-Norwegian children "racially" very satisfactory and wishes to further their procreation. "German soldiers," he says, "should beget as many children as possible with Norwegian mothers, irrespective of marriage." The task of the "Well of Life" is to steal the children from the Norwegian mothers and acquire them for Germany.

As the first step in the procedure, a soldier is seldom allowed to marry a girl whom he has made pregnant. It has become apparent, says the General, that most Norwegians correspond to the "Germanic-Viking ideal" only physically. Spiritually they betray "Anglo-Saxon or parlor Bolshevik" traits. That is no proper alliance for a German soldier. "A German soldier's right to marry a Norwegian girl depends not only on her Nordic appearance but even more on her own and her family's political views."

The children, however, once they have been separated from their mothers and relatives, are desirable booty. The "Well of Life," therefore, takes control of the expectant mothers. Every Norwegian woman in whom a seed of the precious German stock is sprouting is sent to a "home" and kept there until her child is born. Then she is put out. And now the last act unfolds. Is she allowed to take her baby with her? Does it belong to her? No, indeed. Since she is unmarried and since the child has German blood in its veins, it belongs to her only if it is officially awarded to her. The court of appeal is nominally the Norwegian Department of Justice, but actually the department must consult the Well of Life. "Consequently the decision is entirely in German hands." And in most cases it is negative. Most Norwegian mothers are not sufficiently "reliable" to be allowed to bring up scions of the valuable German stock. What is done, then, with the children? On this point the General is somewhat obscure. "The best solution for the child," he declares, "would be to have it brought up in Germany by a German family." At present there seems to be no fixed rule about this. Most of the children are apparently still in the homes from which their mothers have been dismissed.

The memorandum emphasizes that "the German soldier must be spared all mental worries." For that reason he is not only relieved of all expense but guaranteed the strictest secrecy. The Well of Life has an iron rule that no one in Germany shall ever hear that a German soldier has had a child in Norway—not his family, nor his peace-time employer, nor any civilian official.

The net profit of the whole proceedings, according to the General's figures, has been about 2,000 Nordic babies in two years. That is a mere nothing compared with the German population and birth rate. Even a Nazi should see that such a piddling reward makes it scarcely worth while for the nation to incur the odium of this baby stealing, with its revolting mock legality and rabbit-breeding psychology. In all matters connected with race mythology, however, Nazis are completely crazy.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Guides to America South

THE NEW WORLD GUIDES TO THE LATIN AMERICAN REPUBLICS. Sponsored by the Office of the United States Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Earl Parker Hanson, Editor-in-chief. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. Two Volumes. $2.50 each.

IT IS now going on 450 years since the discovery of America, and we have not yet had a good guidebook to the oldest and most historic parts of the hemisphere. Baedeker and Muirhead tried their hand at the United States as long ago as 1893, and later added "Excursions to Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, and Alaska"; but the New World was a problem outside their experience, a problem not of mere research but of discovery—extracting secrets from a wilderness and memories from the Chamber of Commerce. T. Philip Terry, appreciating the Baedeker format, produced a "Guide to Mexico" which in everything but historical accuracy was excellent in 1909, though now it is so out of touch with reality as to be silly. The Touring Club Italiano, grappling with "Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay" was rather more successful than Baedeker, though it too presented an America blemished by vast empty spaces. On the whole, the most useful attempt has been the sober, restricted, but dependable British "South American Handbook," which, besides such advice as that "consistent with moderation in the quantity of their baggage, lady passengers are well advised to take new and becoming clothes," has given us annually for twenty years the important facts about transportation, hotels, banks, government, and living conditions in the principal cities. Meanwhile North American travel in Mexico has resulted in a group of motorists' and tourists' guides which emphasize the life and culture of the living country, such as those of Anita Brenner and Frances Toor. Anything like the thoroughness, the breadth, and the dependability of the European Baedeker, however, has been quite unknown.

When, therefore, the Office of the United States Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs announced a pair of guidebooks to the other American republics, it was good news. We hoped for real travelers' guides, the kind made to be carried in the pocket, crammed with the information one wants at every street corner of a city like Lima. But if it should be a library-table guide—like the WPA "Washington, City and Capital"—one would hardly complain, for there is no such reference book for any part of Latin America.

What we have been given is two respectable volumes with no general index. To any connoisseur of guidebooks this in itself is inconceivable: the index is the heart of a guidebook, almost more valuable than the text; it is the logical outline of the merely geographical material of the text. But in the "New World Guides" one cannot find even the different countries except by flipping through the pages. Apparently the general index was sacrificed to a plan of binding up the different countries separately, so that each country is paged individually. As a result, though there is a brief index to each country, there is no way of finding out, for instance, in which country Santiago del Estero is located.

Nor can you find out from any general map. This guidebook furnishes one map for each country, regardless of size, and a plan of one or two cities—or merely their central section—in each country. The only maps of the whole territory are the end-papers, pitifully inadequate, and in the case of South America, hardly visible. There are no regional maps—to show the Valley of Mexico, for instance, or how Paraguay, Uruguay, and the Argentine fit together. It is rather striking to compare this with the thirty-three maps and forty-eight plans of the 1909 Baedeker. Furthermore, the maps of the countries themselves are as simplified as fourth-grade geography charts, and a good deal less interesting, showing only the outline of the country, a few cities, the main railways, and the most imposing paved roads. Elevation, which gives the whole meaning to South American geography, is not indicated at all. When you get down to looking for a certain monastery on the outskirts of Guatemala City, you realize that you might as well chuck the book out the window and ask the chambermaid.

In fact, the editors advise something of the kind. If addresses are lacking, the "taxi service," they assure you, "is usually excellent, and the general rule is that a taxi driver can take the visitor to any point much more easily if the point is merely named." An essay on maps urges the traveler to "provide himself with the best available maps of the countries visited," and a half-page on the "Travel Agent" disposes of all other problems. But does one buy a guidebook in order to be advised to take a taxi or consult a travel agency? The fact that new roads are being built does not really seem a valid reason for not indicating those that exist; it means rather that a guidebook must be thought of as a serial publication, constantly revised. Unless it includes current information, a guide is not worth its weight in travel.

These are not meant as carping criticisms but to indicate what we can expect of a guidebook. Certainly it ought to give accurately the facts which will answer a traveler's questions about a place, arranged so that they can be found easily. The editors of this publication had aimed higher, promising to present the republics "as nations, rather than as collections of sights and points of interest"; but I am not sure that the traveler or the reader gains by trying to see the nation without seeing its street corners, country roads, historic ruins, Chamber of Deputies, and federal penitentiary. As far as finding the information goes, I could not discover in half an hour's search where the national government of Ecuador is housed; I did finally find a paragraph describing its organization (under History), but there was no subtitle to attract the eye, nor was it listed in the index for Ecuador. Under these circumstances it is hard to see or deal with Ecuador as a nation. The basic difficulty lies, perhaps, in a lack of sympathy for the character of a guidebook, which should supply the material for understanding a country rather than itself undertake to explain it.

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This misconception seems particularly unhappy since in the United States in the past decade we have worked out an exciting formula for the American guidebook. There seems no reason why the concept, the method, and the experience of the WPA regional guides should not be adapted to Latin America. In other republics, as here, it is the evanescent and forgotten evidences of the past, the still uncatalogued traditions, the deserts that remember explorers and pioneers, the creative present, which cries out to be recorded. Such a task cannot be done by so few people sitting at their desks so far from the places concerned. Isn't it another case where we might have let the Latin Americans themselves contribute? The Office of the Coordinator seems to have missed a signal opportunity for cooperative effort among the Americas. And we still need some good guidebooks to Latin America.

ELIZABETH WILDER

Vansittart's Obsession

LESSONS OF MY LIFE. By the Right Honorable Lord Vansittart. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

AMONG the many problems waiting for a solution in our unhappy epoch, the question why Lord Vansittart has become our modern Cato, crying that Carthage must be destroyed, is perhaps not the most important. If, however, you are intrigued by the question, you have a chance of finding a tolerably plausible answer for it in Vansittart's most recent book, an autobiographical and truly self-revealing elaboration of his one theme.

Vansittart, you may remember, was permanent Under Secretary of the British Foreign Office during most of the inter-war period. During those years he was forced to watch the stupidities of the policy of appeasement at close range. His position was so high that he knew the most intimate secrets of the international game, but not high enough for him to be able to change the course of the fateful diplomacy by a hair's breadth. He possesses a kind of simple honesty which reacted strongly against the duplicities of diplomats; and he has certain narrow-range gifts of political realism which enabled him to understand and to discount the pacifist illusions on the left and the confusion created on the right by class interest. His political realism has the narrow range of a high-class civil servant who has never achieved a truly statesmanlike perspective of the European or world scene.

He saw with growing horror the rise of German Nazism, the blindness of European statesmen to its true meaning, and its consequent impunity while it prepared for its work of destruction in the full sight of the world. All this filled him with a sense of impotent rage. When he was finally able to speak freely, he had become the slave of an obsession. He himself confesses: "All my life political expression has been barred to me. After forty years of silence, broken only by rejected memoranda, I find the lawn of language thrown open. None must therefore blame a young sexagenarian at large if he sometimes kicks up his heels on being turned out to grass." His obsession is the belief that no one has fully fathomed the depths of iniquity in the German character.

The obsession is so engrossing that it does not even permit him to state a full program of international policy for dealing with Germany. He believes that there are "four prerequisites" for peace—"the defeat, demilitarization, occupation, and reeducation of Germany." But he does not spend a page of his volume to explain what this program would mean in detail. We do gather that demilitarization also involves deindustrialization; but he has no suggestion as to how this is to be brought about. Nor does he seem aware of any pedagogical difficulties in the task of forcible reeducation. He has some appreciation of the static corruption of Europe, particularly of France, which was the foil of the dynamic corruption of Nazism. He believes, for instance, that Laval was in the pay of both Italy and Germany as early as 1935 and adduces some evidence for his belief. Some of his best pages are devoted to a description of this unsavory character; but he does not bother to explore the full implications of the authority of Laval and men of his kind in France during the years between wars.

The pacifist illusions of the left which contributed to the rise of Hitlerism and the fateful concurrence between this kind of idealism and the even more ignoble stupidities of the right are dealt with caustically in passing; and Vansittart has a great fear that neither right nor left has been cured of political blindness. But he never rises to an analysis of the cause of these stupidities either in our culture or in our political history. He has no perspective which would allow him to view the total anarchy of European civilization—or world civilization for that matter—and to discuss the German problem from that point of view. Even if Germany were the congenital gangster which it is according to his thesis, and even if every distinction between German and Nazi were as illegitimate as he thinks, it would still be important to contrive a strong international policy to hold such a gangster in check and to guarantee his impotence.

There is no suggestion in Vansittart's thought that there are any inherent difficulties in the achievement of such international action. One would imagine that nothing but a guileless underestimate of German villainy caused the failure of the post-Versailles years; and that a new and more universal certainty about the abysmal depths of evil in German character would be sufficient to produce a wise statesmanship and an adequate foreign policy after this war. It is necessary merely to mention one of our immediate problems to gauge the limits of Vansittart's thought—the problem of the relations of Russia to the Western world. If Russia and the Western nations do not find a solid basis for post-war cooperation it is quite possible that the military and predatory tradition of Germany will not be broken and that all Vansittart's dire forebodings may be fulfilled. But not a single facet of the vexing problem of Anglo-Russian relations is illumined by Vansittart's obsession, and no issue is brought nearer solution by his myopic view of German character.

One records these obvious defects with the more regret because Vansittart periodically reveals capacities for political understanding which might have served our generation well if they had not been engulfed in his obsession.

It is neither possible nor profitable to follow all of Vansittart's biased estimates of German character, politics, and culture. The tragedy of Germany's political and moral failure is so great that it has certainly not yet been fully fathomed. But Vansittart's indictments have the quality of angry bark-

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ing rather than of a considered effort to measure the full meaning of this failure.

His analysis of German culture brings his whole method to a height of absurdity. For some reason which he does not explain he can find only three names in the history of German culture which merit respect—Kant, Goethe, and Beethoven. He robs the Germans of credit for the latter by calling him van Beethoven and glories in the fact that both Kant and Goethe criticized their fellow-countrymen. All the rest seem to be involved in the same mass of perdition. As a pious Catholic he does not rate the French enlightenment very high, but he is certain that its deficiencies were derived from German thought. He explains the anti-Christian character of Nazism thus: "Luther and Bismarck assailed the Catholic church; now all churches are assailed."

The real fact is that in dealing with cultural problems the author is completely out of his depth and becomes even more absurd than in his discussion of political history. Vansittart is something of a poet, and his text is studded with literary allusions from many sources. Sometimes they are apt and sometimes they are banal. It may be significant of something or other that he feels it necessary to bring a maliciously accurate description of Laval to a close with the quotation:

> Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates and men decay.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

St. Paul and the New Faith

THE APOSTLE. By Sholem Asch. Translated by Maurice Samuel. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.

IN HIS brief moving epilogue to the present book the author thanks the Creator for the strength given him to "withstand all temptations and overcome all obstacles, those of my own making and those made by others," a strength enabling him to complete the two monumental novels "The Nazarene" and "The Apostle," together covering more than fifteen hundred crowded pages and dealing with one of the most gratifying if most difficult topics of literature—the genesis of Christianity. To what sort of "temptations" and "obstacles" does the author refer? In order to guess what he means by these vague allusions, one has to remember that Asch is a Yiddish writer, reared in the traditions of orthodox Jewry. Small wonder, then, that a profound change of mind had to precede his nostalgic literary rediscovery of Jesus and Paul, and that he could safely expect his unique *magnum opus* to be received as a "stumbling-block" by certain sections of Jewry and as a "foolishness" by certain Christians, to use the words applied by Paul to his own teaching of the new faith.

Were the books to appear in Germany, the so-called *Deutsche Christen* would resent strongly the author's "Judaization" of Jesus, who they assert was an "Aryan." Since they cannot very well bestow the privilege of "Aryan" descent upon the Pharisee Saul, whose story is less shrouded in mysteries than that of his master, they reject him as "Rabbi Saul," who had falsified the Aryan doctrines of Jews. For the Nazi hotspurs, of course, the whole of Christianity is just a "Jewish swindle." In the democratic world many Chris-

2

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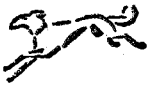

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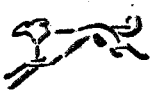

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tians consider the Yiddish poet's work a step toward their ultimate goal—the conversion of the Jews to Christianity. Orthodox Jewry, therefore, finds itself in a difficult position, facing as it does Asch's endeavors to restore the founders of Christianity to the Hebrew race.

Beyond the orthodox and the Christ-seeking wing of Jewry stands Professor Joseph Klausner of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, who, first in "Jesus of Nazareth" and lately in "From Jesus to Paul," sought to clarify the scene and point out the affinities of, as well as the differences between, Judaism and Christianity. To judge by Klausner's book, Asch seems to be justified when he portrays Jesus—or Yeshua, as he calls him, by the Hebrew name—as an orthodox Jew who, while he considered himself to be the Messiah and expected to bring redemption to Israel, "never intended to found a new religion and spread it among the Gentiles." But the present novel, purporting to be a *historical* novel and not the product of unlimited imagination, somewhat distorts the real portrait of the propagandist and systematizer of Christianity. Asch emphasizes too strongly the Jewishness of Paul. Actually, this man from Asia Minor, this Roman citizen, whose soul from the beginning was torn between Pharisaism and Hellenism, was at most a denationalized Jew, and he was, to quote Klausner, the "real founder of Christianity as a new religion and a new church after it had been in existence for some time as a Jewish sect and Israelite congregation"; thus, for instance, it hardly makes sense to let Paul, the proclaimer of the idea of the Trinity, die with "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one"—the Jewish confession of faith—on his lips.

The fact that these aberrations struck this reviewer and that he could not overlook them as merely the expression of *licentia poetica* indicates that Asch's work has, in a way, much in common with a religious tract, even though in a more superficial sense it is written along the lines of a novel. Obviously the tendency to set forth "the merit of Israel, whom Thou hast elected to bring the light of the faith to the nations of the world, for Thy glory and out of Thy love of mankind" hampered the artist Asch, who does not here live up to his great reputation as a creator of lifelike characters. The book contains magnificent pageants of the ancient world, striking vistas of Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Athens, Corinth, and Rome, minute descriptions of Jewish religious life and of the glamour and sickness of the decadent Gentile society. Yet the author fails to make us grasp the enigmatic soul of the epileptic tentmaker who started as a persecutor of the Christians and ended as one who brought the tidings of the Messiah to the Gentiles. While a few figures are well portrayed, most personages walk through the book like marionettes rather than like human beings of flesh and blood. There are a few unforgettable scenes, like the stoning of Reb Istephan (St. Stephen) or Paul's dispute with Seneca, where the author proves himself in full possession of his dramatic talents, but in general the book reminds us of a precious old Gobelin showing scenes in striking color but with the figures stiff and the vistas lacking perspective.

Everything is fully, too fully, described. There is little of the humor, of the subtle implications, that carry the reader through Thomas Mann's lengthy Biblical novels. The frequent hair-splitting theological discussions prove the author's erudition but make hard reading. As a lofty message to Christians and Jews, stressing the high ideals of brotherhood and exhibiting the spiritual ties that bind the Christian to the Jew, "The Apostle" is of extreme value. But as a work of art it is inferior to "The Nazarene," and both novels appear somewhat anemic when compared with the author's brilliant and genuine characterization of Jewish life in "Three Cities."

ALFRED WERNER

Jefferson as Philosopher

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. By Adrienne Koch. Columbia University Press. $2.50.

FROM any point of view this small volume with its simple and alluring title is a great disappointment. It is published by the University Press as a Columbia Study in American Culture, but it is unsatisfactory as a scholarly treatment of its theme. It is also an unexpectedly slim and attractive book which does not resemble a thesis, but it fails to live up to its enticing exterior and intellectual promise.

The author, I have no doubt, has taken great pains in her search through the mass of Jefferson's letters and papers; she has read the right secondary works. But she has neither organized the results of her inquiry nor developed a communicative interest in them. Much of her book is a paraphrase of what we are about to read in Jefferson's own words or a repetition of what we already know from the same source. She understands what her author says and tells us that this or that feature of his thought is very important; yet lacking as is every chapter in both conception and construction, nothing is salient, and nearly all portions remain on the same level of unillumined fact.

As she recognizes in her preface, her thesis that Jefferson had a genuine philosophical mind has to be established in the teeth of the contrary opinion now prevalent. Professor Chinard of Princeton is the chief upholder of this opinion, based on a lifelong study of Jefferson's writings. One may incline to agree with Miss Koch and disagree with Mr. Chinard, and yet be forced to admit that a Galahad setting out to vanquish the champion of the old order must have better weapons than purity of heart. Miss Koch, I think, found enough to defend her side but spoiled it by her use. On one point only she exhibits the necessary powers of exposition and argument, and that is on the question of Jefferson's materialism. Bolstered up by Picavet's great study of the "Idéologues," as well as by Jefferson's own words, she sets in its true critical light the nature of the Jeffersonian attempt to combine theism and materialism. Her pages 94 to 104 are very good and constitute a model neglected in the rest of the book.

Considered as a restatement for the general reader—since much of the book is not an addition to but a rehandling of known facts—the work fails even more conspicuously. Given her theme, what can justify making the reader go through ninety pages, comprising nine chapters, before he reaches a tenth entitled Jefferson's Philosophical Beliefs? Then, the discussion of the French system of ideology is in a perpetual cart-before-the-horse relation to Jefferson, the writer being unable to keep apart chronological and topical treatments

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even in a single paragraph. How excuse, moreover, the utterly inadequate and pointless chapter on Education, three pages long? One would suppose that Jefferson's views on the subject were casual or insignificant, but one is told the opposite, and bits crop up in a dozen alien contexts throughout the book.

The fact that scarcely any of the chapter headings corresponds to the substance presented, or really subdivides it on a rational plan, argues inadequate guidance on the part of the writer's academic advisers. This hypothesis is confirmed by the recurrent lack of precision in the use of English words and the excessive number of misprints in proper names, Latin quotations, and French accents. Assuming the lack of such supervision as every beginner is entitled to, the author of this book should not be too downcast by the shortcomings of her first publication. We all have initial fumbles to deplore, which we can retrieve only by learning from those who object—unfortunately, in public.

JACQUES BARZUN

Film Notes

MADAME CURIE" enlists an unusual amount of competence, patience, and commercialized sincerity in the production, which rather saddens than angers or pleases me, of the screen equivalent to Harpers' Prize "literature": safe, smooth, respectable, an epitome of all that the bourgeois likes what he calls his art to be. One could use it as a model of all that is most to be regretted in Hollywood at this stage, and I had thought I might. I suggest, instead, that you look up, in a recent issue of *Life*, two photographs: one of Pierre Curie and his brother and their parents, the other of Walter Pidgeon and three colleagues, representing them. Between them, those two pictures will tell you more than enough.

"Higher and Higher," which introduces Frank Sinatra to the screen, is one for the museums; nor is that just a crack. Sinatra adds to his more famous advantages that of being, obviously, a decent enough sort; he also has weird fleeting resemblances to Lincoln, which I think may help out in the audience subconscious. (Heaven help us all if Booth had missed and Lincoln had a larynx!) Through most of the film Sinatra is just a sort of male Mary Pickford, a mock-shy, poised young man huskily husking Occidental and very mortal corn. At the end, thanks to a stroke of simple genius on the part of the director, Tim Whelan, he stands without visible support among clouds, in an effect which could be described only in the unmailable terms of an erotic dream, and swells from a pinpoint to a giant. Higher and higher indeed. The Messiah Himself will have to sweat to work out a better return engagement.

"Destiny, Tokyo" combines a good deal of fairly exciting submarine warfare with at least as much human interest, which I found neither very human nor at all interesting. Warner does a lot of this sort of thing and of "socially conscious" work and is, I believe, more to be respected than any other American studio so far as maturity of intention is concerned. But even in that respect there is all the sky from knee-high left to grow in. And the cinematic achievement, as a rule, is just about what you get from any other studio.

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ART

AMERICAN ART, like American literature, seems to be in retreat at the moment. This year's Whitney Annual (at the Whitney Museum of American Art until January 4) is more disheartening than ever. It hardly matters that some of the work shown was executed several years ago; the dominant note is of 1943. There is evident a general softening up, a relaxation into the appealing and the meretricious, and a fatigue that is particularly visible in the abstract section. The impulse to the exploration of form, some people say, is exhausted. The collective showing abstract art makes at the Whitney, its pursuit of safe effects, might tempt one to believe this if it were not that the other varieties of art present, for all their advantages of quicker surface pleasure, are even less interesting and hopeful. Just as naturalism at the time of the Bellinis in Venice was the only tendency which promised a future to painting, in spite of the wonderful sideshows staged by Carpaccio and Crivelli, so abstract art today is the only stream that flows toward an ocean. It is the only mode by which painters and sculptors can still master new experience; it furnishes the only profoundly original contemporary art; and the three best things at the Whitney are a piece of cast-iron and bronze sculpture by David Smith which obliterates almost everything else in the sculpture court, a pencil and crayon drawing by Arshile Gorky, and a Marin water color—the first two entirely abstract, the third abstract in feeling. These works, along with the limited successes that are a seascape by Feininger in oil, a snow landscape of Martyl's, also in oil, and Minna Harkavy's cast stone figure, help redeem the mediocrities, brilliant, spurious, and otherwise, which surround them. As usual, everybody shows a high level of competence, everybody is learned in the excellences of the past, but a community of excitement and ambition and a real richness of culture are missing.

The show of "Romantic Painting in America" now at the Museum of Modern Art (until February 6) harmonizes beautifully with last year's "American Realists and Magic Realists" exhibited at the same place. One sings alto to the other's bass, but the tune is the same. Both are phases of that campaign against modern art which began ambiguously among the surrealists twenty years ago, affirmed itself in the neo-romanticism of Christian Bérard, Tchelitchew, and the Bermans, and is now beginning to celebrate a triumph, such as it is, in New York and California during a period in which dry bones are being reclad with flesh, corpses resuscitated, and illusions revived by our failing nerves in every field of endeavor. It is the fag end of a boring, very great, and violent war. The superficial, true, and damning interpretations of these phenomena will all be made. But the most searching interpretations will also furnish apologies for them. Dali, who was really the baptizing John of the neo-baroque and the neo-romantic—Chirico being its unconscious Isaiah—felt that modern art isolated him from society, to which he wanted and wants very much to belong, and whose attention he needs no less than its money. The neo-romantics, surrealists, and others who took their cue from him and returned to the academic may have been impelled by the same motives—certainly their painting is the first "modern" art to have become a social success on the spot—but underneath, I feel, was also a yearning to put their art into a more explicit relation with the rest of their lives than post-cubist painting and sculpture seem to allow. Cubism, or abstract art, gives the artist no room to express his *immediate* feelings about sex, for instance. They must first be transposed. It is impatience with the thought and feeling involved in the transposition of the aesthetic to and from the rest of experience that leads the Museum of Modern Art, or James Thrall Soby, to exclude the possibility that post-cubist art can be as "romantic" as anything else. The question is whether one is really interested in making "romanticism" actual and not merely a ribbon to decorate nostalgia for the academic. I think we all have that nostalgia more or less, but it should not obscure a truth which does not ask too much patience and reflection to feel and discover: namely, that Picasso, Miró, Braque, Arp, Lipchitz, Brancusi, the "inhuman" Mondrian, and the "intellectual" Gris have given the "romantic" as well as the "classical" aspects of contemporary life their most intrinsic expression in visual art.

The latest "romantic" revival in paintings—paralleled by a curiously similar revival among the younger poets in England and a new interest there in Pre-Raphaelism and the literary aspects of painting in general—stands historical romanticism on its head. For it does not revolt against authority and constraints, but tries to establish a new version of security and order. The "imagination" it favors seems conservative and constant as against the "reason" it opposes, which is restless, disturbing, ever locked in struggles with the problematical. "Reason" leads to convictions, activity, politics, adventure: "imagination" to sentiment, pleasure, and certainties. The new "romanticism" gives up experiment and the assimilation of new experience in the hope of bringing art back to society, which has itself been "romantic" for quite a while in its hunger for immediate emotion and familiar forms. A nostalgia is felt for a harmony which can be found only in the past—and which the very technical achievements of past art seem to assure.

Hence the inevitable charm which, for example, the nineteenth-century American landscapes at the "Romantic" exhibition have for us. Their singleness of view, their obvious but self-contained emotion make them more enjoyable at first glance than the contemporary pictures, which, despite greater force in many instances, seem fragments by comparison, organized on only one level.

The new "romantics" and the neo-romantics, American and otherwise, look to the past for qualities of sentiment and for formal schemes by which to assure the unity and effect of their paintings. They borrow certain innovations of pre-cubist modern art—free brushwork, high color keys—only to subordinate them to the methods and moods of mannerist, baroque, German and French romantic painting. The result is art of a decadent flavor. Only the relinquishing of the effort to conquer new experience makes possible these seductive harmonies of paint and sentiment. Here are the limited objectives of a safe world, where we all understand each other because we have agreed to banish disturbing questions or are no longer capable of recognizing them; a wistful art that confirms our reluctance to take risks. (Such refusal of new impressions and influences is a characteristic moment of every decadence. Though one keeps on looking for new sensations, they must all be of the same order.) There are thrills, of course—but never upsetting ones. It is art that has the shock of the fashionable: it creates unconventional effects by conventional means. The diabetic colors are sex; the careful handling is anal, represents money and the unwillingness to spend it on anything but pleasure. Sex and money are the two indisputable and perhaps the only exciting facts we have left. Yet this painting is not altogether

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to be despised; for it has inherent interest as phenomena, and in some cases its creators are extremely gifted. (See Walter Stuempfig's show at Durlacher Brothers.) And I say they know what they are doing. They have renounced the adventures and gambles of modern art. They want to be loved in a hurry. And they are. They sell well.

It should be added that relatively few of the contemporary American "romantics" at the Museum of Modern Art's show belong to the above manifestation. The "fantasists" Graves and Fett are akin to Klee or Masson; while such painters as Mattson, De Martini, Weber, Blanch, Bohrod, Karfiol, Evergood, and Palmer go back to French painting before cubism and recapitulate it in American terms, sometimes calling on the aid of Ryder or expressionism. Each has made a contribution, usually in landscape. It would be wrong to sneer at them because they lack power or are not quite up to date either as experimenters or "romantics." The fault most of them share is a narrowness of intention that compels them to repeat themselves after a certain point, and with repetition they degenerate woefully, woefully, into sweet effects. (A case in point is Bohrod's late show at the Associated American Artists.) The main reason I can see for Mr. Soby's insistence on their "romanticism" is that they never got too closely involved with anything later than fauvism or German expressionism. Weber and Evergood are perhaps the only exceptions.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

MUSIC

THE opening concert of the Budapest Quartet's series at the Y. M. H. A. began with Haydn's Quartet Opus 76 No. 2; and with the repetition of the first phrase there was already an unexpected change of phrase-length and contour which was only the first little joke in the game that Haydn proceeded to play with the mind of his listener throughout the movement. The subtle surprises continued in the second movement; and their subtlety left one unprepared for the bomb which Haydn exploded in the third movement minuet: a canon, with the violins leading and the viola and cello following, making one laugh at first with the boldness of the procedure and then with the startling audacities of some of the details of the progression, and getting to be hilariously funny by the end.

Then came Mozart's great C major Quintet K.515, with new surprises and audacities. One may think one has heard all the wonders Mozart could achieve; and then one hears something else which is, one thinks rightly, the most extraordinary thing in music one has ever heard. After the second-act finale of "Figaro" there is still the fourth-act finale (to say nothing of all that intervenes); at the end of this finale there is still the sublimity of the *Contessa, perdono!* passage. And so even after all the unique marvels of the instrumental works—of, for example, the slow movement of the Concerto K.467—one is unprepared for the boldness and power of the opening of the first movement of the C major Quintet, the tensions that are built up at the end of the exposition; nor do these prepare one for the things that happen in the second movement minuet: the somber strangeness of the opening statement, of the harmonic progressions and instrumental coloring in the first part of the trio after the flowing violin melody; the violently wrenching intensities of the middle part of the trio. And these things do not make one laugh; they leave one shaken.

The Budapest Quartet's performances of those two works also caused one to marvel all over again at what one had marveled at so many times before—the integrated progression of the four strands of sound that were inflected with such unerring plastic sense and expressive insight. There were occasions, more frequent in the Quintet, when—happening to be very tired—I wondered whether I had really heard a blemish in intonation or tone or had merely imagined I heard it. But unblemished perfection, when it arrived in the performance of Beethoven's Opus 59 No. 1 that ended the concert, created no doubts, and convinced me that I really heard those blemishes in the performances of works which the Budapest Quartet plays less and rehearses less than Opus 59 No. 1. The first movement of Beethoven's work, incidentally, was swift-moving and fiery in this performance, and as convincing as the reflective, lyrical first movement of the Roth Quartet performance.

Young Leonard Bernstein's performance of Bloch's "Three Jewish Poems" with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony had beauty of sound, fluidity and plastic coherence, effectiveness as a statement of the music; and these certainly took ability to produce with a modern score in the hour and a quarter of rehearsal that I was told he had had. But just how able Bernstein is as a conductor and musician we will know only when we have heard him conduct Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and other music of the standard repertory, and with a less disciplined orchestra than the Philharmonic.

The New York Philharmonic is now a disciplined, fine-sounding orchestra; that much Rodzinski has achieved. But a disciplined, fine-sounding orchestra doesn't exist for itself; and the conductor's job isn't merely to get it to play with discipline and fine sound. The orchestra exists as an instrument for the performance of music; and the conducductor's job is to use it to provide us with effective statements in living sound of the great classics and other interesting works of the past, the important achievements of the present. Actually, Rodzinski's programs have offered few of the great classics or other interesting works of the past, and even less music of any importance of the present; and some of the programs have been as badly selected and combined as any I have ever encountered: John Alden Carpenter's "The Anxious Bugler," Saint-Saëns's Symphony in C minor, Liszt's Piano Concerto in E flat, Gershwin's "American in Paris"; or Berezowsky's "Soldier on the Town," Glière's Symphony "Ilya Murometz," Rachmaninov's Piano Concerto No. 3; or Noskowski's Symphonic Poem "Step," Tansman's Symphony No. 5, Szymanowski's Symphonie Concertante for piano and orchestra, Chopin's Concerto in F minor. One might say it is just as well that Rodzinski hasn't played Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Schubert, since he doesn't play this music effectively; but that would amount to saying he is incapable of fulfilling one of the primary obligations of orchestra and conductor to the public. Nor is there enough modern music that he plays well to enable him to fulfill other obligations. I have heard good performances from him of Ravel's "Daphnis et Chloé," Sibelius's Fifth Symphony, the Fifth Symphony and other works of Shostakovitch, but a poor performance of Debussy's "La Mer" on the records issued a year ago; and at the concert I attended recently the performance of Mahler's Second Symphony had a cool on-the-surface quality and sheen suitable for Ravel—which was like a performance of "Othello" in the style of a Lonsdale comedy.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

A Good Job

Dear Sirs: Accept my congratulations on publishing the workman-like job of Thomas R. Amlie as a supplement to *The Nation* for November 27. "Lost: One Trillion Dollars" is one of the most constructive and stirring things I have encountered in a long time. It is a real challenge to the American people. Both you and Amlie deserve unstinted commendation for your enterprise in making this fine piece of work available to your readers. It should be sent to every Congressman, and, more important, it should be read by every labor official in the country, for there are still far too many of us in the labor movement whose economics follow the line of the National Association of Manufacturers.

AL SESSIONS
News Editor, *Olympic Press*
Oakland, Cal., December 6

Overlooked

Dear Sirs: I was surprised to see that Mr. Amlie, in your supplement dealing with the post-war program for full employment, paid so little attention to the recommendations of the National Resources Planning Board. The board recommended genuine equality of educational opportunity for all, so that not merely would educational facilities be expanded but no one would be forced by economic pressure to lose the chance to take as full advantage of educational opportunities as his ability warranted. This important step Mr. Amlie overlooked entirely.

The board recommended a guaranty by the federal government of decent jobs at full pay for everyone able and willing to work for whom private enterprise failed to provide a job. It laid down the outlines of a number of projects, both construction and service projects, by which this policy could be put into practice. The idea of a government guaranty of useful jobs for all is one that can readily be made into an effective slogan, for it is a more personalized program than full employment, though it adds up to the same thing in the end.

Finally, the social-security program of the National Resources Planning Board, which has been largely embodied in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, is not mentioned by Mr. Amlie, nor is the bill itself. Instead, Mr. Amlie proposes $25 a week for the unemployed. There are other interferences with income than unemployment, such as sickness, old age, and disability. Also any flat sum is bound to be unjust because it fails to take into account the needs of dependents. Hence, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill and the proposals of the National Resources Planning Board seem to be definitely superior to Mr. Amlie's idea of $25 a week for the unemployed. But even if they were not better, I suggest that progressives have an obligation to try to rally concentrated support for concrete proposals already in the political arena, especially when, like the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, they have the support of both the main branches of organized labor, rather, than to toss out some other proposals for social security.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS
New York, December 10

A Charlestonian Objects

Dear Sirs: The outburst about Charleston contributed by Enid Ewing to *The Nation* of November 20 raises a number of questions for its impetuous author to consider.

As a Charlestonian and a volunteer war worker, I am constrained to believe that Enid Ewing did not make a very thorough investigation before she voiced her strictures. Has she the slightest knowledge of building conditions under the present priority restrictions? Does she know that "despite the admonitions of fuming Washington bureaucrats that Charleston fall in line" it has frequently been in the subsidiary offices of those "fuming bureaucrats" that many needed projects have been indefinitely pigeonholed?

Then I should like to know in how many other war-swollen towns the author has lived? Has she any experience of prices and conditions in other such places? Having for some months now been a traveling army wife, I have experienced all those things of which Enid Ewing complains. I have climbed four flights of stairs to my one room, for which I paid $66 a month. In a small town I have been offered—and have refused for financial reasons—that apartment longed for by all army wives, two rooms and kitchen, tenants to supply all heat, water, linen, etc. Rent $120 a month. As I walked from that apartment I passed spacious houses which I later learned were lived in by one or two people. I have stood in line to get high-priced food in deplorably greasy restaurants, and I have not had the energy to stand in line long enough to get into one of the three movies which afforded the sole amusement in the small town. I have watched my Southern dollars "hoisted on an ancient pulley line" to a Boston cashier, but that Boston shop is hardly to be expected to instal a new system—which it probably couldn't buy anyway—just because war workers are spending freely. It never struck me as *contra mundum* for the Boston Athenaeum to continue its rule of hereditary membership after I came to town. The Boston Athenaeum went right on with the customs which have persisted through many wars, and I was perfectly happy in the Public Library. Charming Bostonians invited me to their homes, and there I tried to remember the rules of courtesy, which I learned in Charleston—that even though we might disagree on innumerable topics it can be very unpleasant if a guest is pugnaciously controversial with his host.

All of this is axiomatic and needs no argument to be accepted by the experienced and thoughtful. It would seem a waste of effort to remonstrate with the Enid Ewings, who are to be found wherever the going is a bit tough, save that their impatient gripings tend to arouse sectional resentments and tensions when of all times we should exercise forbearance.

HARRIET P. SIMONS
Somewhere in New England,
November 25

Foch and the Armistice

Dear Sirs: Joseph Bornstein said in his review of my book, "The Invasion of Germany," (*The Nation,* October 30), that Marshal Foch "strongly objected to the invasion of Germany, and he explained his point of view with the famous words, reported by Colonel House: 'No man has a right to cause another drop of blood to be shed.'" He thinks that he thus refutes my statement that Foch was against the Armistice as

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it was finally concluded. Mr. Bornstein evidently feels that to quote a somewhat bombastic sentence makes historical research unnecessary. He evidently is not aware that Colonel House was somewhat partial in his accounts of the Armistice negotiations and the peace negotiations.

Since Mr. Bornstein believes I should study better books, I might suggest in turn that he read the memoirs of Mrs. Woodrow Wilson on this point. It might also prove advantageous to study the works of the late Karl Friedrich Nowack, a renowned European historian and one of the accepted authorities on Versailles, on Foch's feelings on the Armistice. And it might also prove fruitful to Mr. Bornstein to read what Alfred Vagts, perhaps the outstanding authority in this country, wrote on page 263 of "The History of Militarism": "When the Germans finally proposed an armistice, the majority of the commanding generals, Haig excepted, declared in favor of fighting on until peace could be dictated on German soil; that was said to be 'so conforming with strategy and the experience of past wars.' . . . Only when hard pressed by the civilian politicians did Foch admit that there was no reason to fight on for harsher armistice conditions. . . ."

Still another important writer on military affairs, Valeriu Marcu, who recently passed away in this country, wrote in his book "Men and Forces of Our Times" ("Männer und Mächte der Gegenwart") on Foch's attitude toward the Armistice: "Nothing can ever have seemed so inopportune to the Marshal of France as the German request for an armistice." And how could it be so if Marshal Foch really desired that not another drop of blood be shed?

CURT REISS

New York, December 8

What Foch Said

Dear Sirs: Mr. Riess wrote in his book that Marshal Foch did not want to grant Germany the armistice of 1918. He asserted: "Foch was outvoted. The British, the Americans, and even Foch's own government thought that he was a megalomaniac. . . . No one listened to Foch."

The negotiations about the Armistice of 1918 have been described by men who took part in them. I will not again refer to Colonel House, President Wilson's delegate, whom Mr. Reiss calls "partial." Yet the fact that the conditions of the armistice were fully in consonance with the proposals of Marshal Foch is also confirmed by witnesses like General Pershing and Lloyd George. (Pershing, "My Experiences in the World War," page 363; Lloyd George, "War Memoirs," Vol. VI, page 3275). Clemenceau's former assistant, André Tardieu, gave a documentary report of the armistice negotiations in his famous book "The Truth About the Treaty"; he quotes there especially the statements and declarations of Marshal Foch (pages 67, ff). There is finally one of the most important witnesses—Foch himself ("The Memoirs of Marshal Foch," American edition published by Doubleday, Doran and Company in 1931). Foch devoted two long chapters of his "Memoirs" (pages 450-96) to a day-by-day account of the armistice negotiations. He reveals the full text of his original propositions, his protests against any aggravation of the conditions, his statements made in the meetings with Colonel House, Lloyd George, and Clemenceau. In his conclusions Foch explicitly declares that the conditions of the armistice were fully satisfying from his point of view and continues: "It must not be imagined that the signing of the armistice was premature on our part, or that we might have derived advantage by delaying it . . . until such time as the German defeat had been finally sealed by a military defeat equivalent to a new Sedan" ("Memoirs," page 490).

Karl Friedrich Nowack was not "a renowned European historian" but a German author who wrote a popular book against Versailles, thus helping the German nationalistic propaganda. Alfred Vagts certainly does not claim to have written the history of the armistice negotiations. The sentence of Valeriu Marcu's which Mr. Riess quotes applies to the strategic plans Foch had prepared before he knew that the Germans would ask for an armistice.

My review was published five weeks before Mr. Riess wrote his letter. He had plenty of time to search for material that would justify his statement. I can hardly believe that he overlooked all the well-known standard works about the armistice any employee of the Public Library could have recommended to him. However, Mr. Riess, who prefers the "authority" of Herr Nowack to the "partial" Colonel House, may also think that the books of General Pershing, Lloyd George, André Tardieu, and Foch himself are not reliable sources. I am sorry for his readers.

JOSEPH BORNSTEIN

New York, December 20

No Quarter

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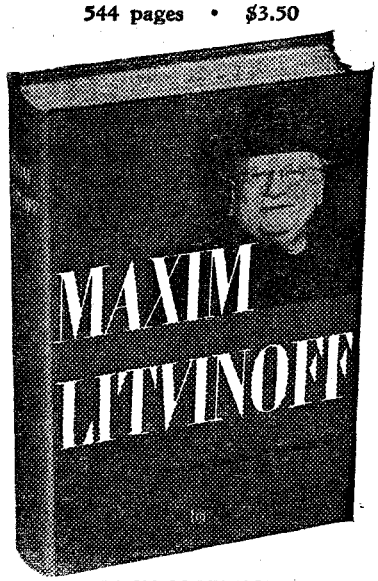

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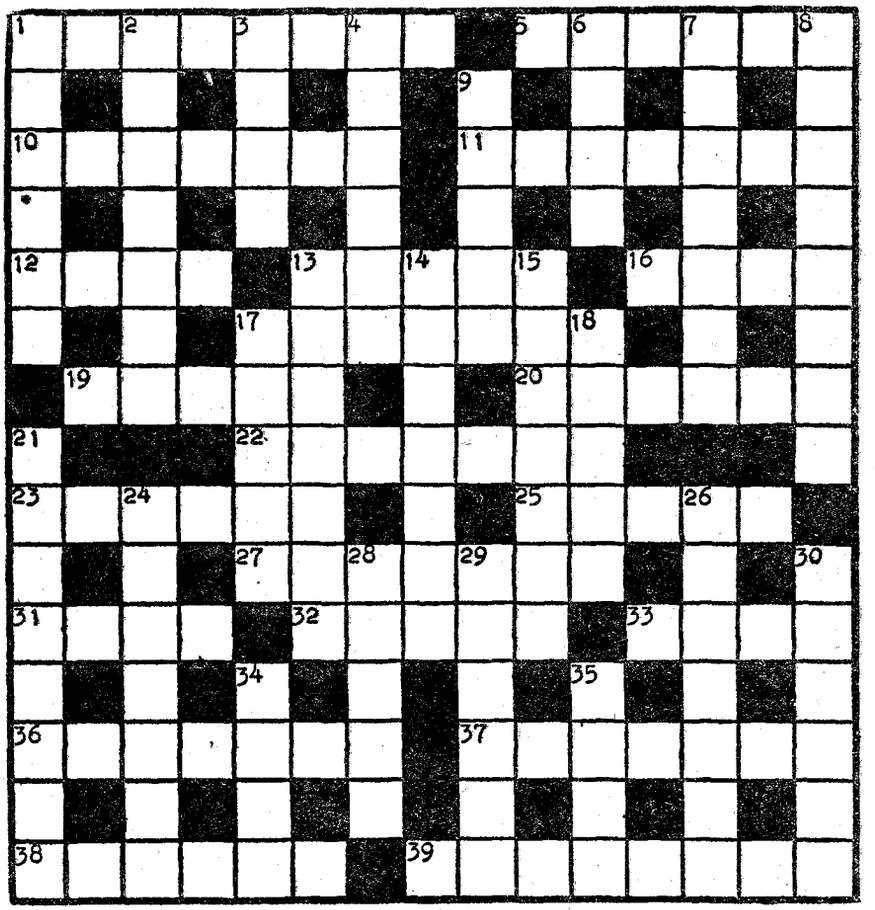
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 45 by JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 The lower he goes the less likely he is to go flat
5 Liver's out of order
10 Murmur at the tattoo for not being exciting
11 You find such eloquence in a Whig or a Tory
12 Oh, dear! A girl has lost a foot
13 He is here today and gone tomorrow
16 One William who was glad to miss his son
17 Little Edward and his debts become tiresome
19 Old tyrant who set a mark for new tyrants to shoot at
20 Fish on ice
22 Put the case again as the others dined
23 Sheer imbecility
25 Fifty-two pronouns in five letters without proper punctuation
27 It would not encourage the floored pugilist if he were to first half the second half
31 Nineteenth century French novelist of the "naturalist" school
32 Wood nymph, not an advertisement for Prohibition
33 A large slice of this earth
36 Al leaves Australia for a country in Europe
37 One of course was necessary when this famous London prison was pulled down
38 Fences with the edge in the middle
39 Are you making good this?

DOWN

1 Decapitate
2 A swindle starts a state of excitement
3 Politicians doubtless feel that one good one deserves another
4 Founder of Babel, and a big shot in his day
6 A play, but not of the athletic kind
7 "So over - - - - - - -, or over civil, That every man with him was God or Devil" (Dryden)
8 A king's man (an economic variety has been found to exist here!)
9 Wild West show characterized by much horse-play
13 Result of excessive weeping—or of seeing red, perhaps (hyphen, 3 and 4)
14 A short English queen collaborates with an anti-New Dealer with successful results!
15 Whispered like the stirring leaves
17 Use this discreetly during a black-out
18 Form of wool that is mostly hide
21 One cannot be supine about one's ablutions in this (two words, 4 and 4)
24 Treated badly (hyphen, 3 and 4)
26 She-goat (anag.)
28 "Days of absence, sad and dreary, Clothed in sorrow's dark - - - - -" (Rousseau)
29 Worker who appears to hold the whip hand
30 Unsinkable ships of the desert
34 As steel
35 Is this a small portion of the Tree of Knowledge?

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 44

ACROSS:—1 DECATUR; 5 TORNADO; 9 FRIGATE; 10 NOTICED; 11 LAG; 13 APIECE; 15 ARCHIE; 16 EXPRESS; 17 SAGE; 19 ELMS; 20 RED INDIAN; 21 IDLE; 23 DANE; 26 UNGUENT; 28 SPRING; 29 SEALED; 30 ASS; 32 GAMBITS; 33 PRO RATA; 34 TIRADES; 35 NESTLES.

DOWN:—1 DEFEATS; 2 CEILING; 3 TRANCE; 4 REEL; 5 TANG; 6 ROTORS; 7 ALCOHOL; 8 ODDNESS; 12 AERONAUTS; 14 EXUDING; 15 ASSIGNS; 18 ERE; 19 END; 21 INSIGHT; 22 LORIMER; 24 ALL HAIL; 25 ENDEARS; 26 UNKIND; 27 TENORS; 30 ASPS; 31 SPAN.

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